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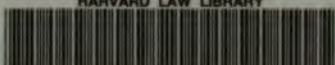
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# Establishment of a National Home in Palestine

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

ON

## H. CON. RES. 52

EXPRESSING SATISFACTION AT THE RE-CREATION OF PALESTINE  
AS THE NATIONAL HOME OF THE JEWISH RACE

---

APRIL 18, 19, 20, AND 21, 1922

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Transcript compiled by Subcommittee of the House Committee  
on Foreign Affairs, consisting of—

MESSRS. HAMILTON FISH, JR., CHAIRMAN  
MERRILL MOORES, J. CHARLES LINTHICUM



WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1922

100932

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.

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FEB 19 1924

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## ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, Tuesday, April 18, 1922.

The committee this day met, Hon. Stephen G. Porter (chairman), presiding. The committee had under consideration House Concurrent Resolution 52, which reads as follows:

[House Concurrent Resolution 52, Sixty-seventh Congress, second session.]

Whereas the Jewish people have for many centuries believed in and yearned for the rebuilding of their ancient homeland; and

Whereas owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein the Jewish people, under definite and adequate international guaranties are to be enabled, with due regard to the rights of all elements of the population of Palestine and to the sanctity of its holy places, to re-create and reorganize a national home in the land of their fathers: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress of the United States hereby expresses its profound satisfaction in that outcome of the victorious war which promises the building up of a new and beneficent life in Palestine, rejoices in this act of historic justice about to be consummated, and on behalf of the American people commends an undertaking which will do honor to Christendom and give to the House of Israel its long-denied opportunity to reestablish a fruitful Jewish life and culture in the ancient Jewish land.*

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. The committee was called for the purpose of considering House Concurrent Resolution No. 52, introduced by Mr. Fish.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, I just want to make a brief statement. This resolution has probably more significance and importance actually and historically than most of us realize. The Jewish people all over the world are interested in the establishment of a national home in Palestine, and our allies in the war, England, France, and Italy, have all gone on record in favor of such a project. I have asked a very few gentlemen representing the Zionist organization of America to come here to-day and express their views and those of their organization and to answer any questions that the committee might desire to ask. For the information of the committee Senator Lodge has also introduced a resolution in the Senate to the same effect, but not in exactly the same words. I have talked to the Senator and he said there would not be any conflict between the two resolutions. It was agreed after our discussion that both resolutions should take their course. What I am most desirous of is the immediate consideration of this resolution and either having it voted up or down in the session to-day. We have, as you know, had many resolutions come before our committee in times past, and we have had many large gatherings here in support and in opposition to sundry resolutions, but sometimes it happens that resolutions, after the hearings, are laid to rest. I most earnestly request the committee to consider this important resolution on its merit, and after listening to the speakers, to either vote the resolution up or down in to-day's session.

The CHAIRMAN. That would not be practicable, because there are a number of people who desire to be heard in this matter. We can do that on Thursday, if satisfactory. I promised to give some people a hearing on Thursday.

Mr. FISH. If that is the case, and if we can have a vote as soon as Thursday, it will be perfectly satisfactory to me, especially if there is any opposition to the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not say these men were in opposition. I do not know ; they merely asked for a hearing.

Mr. FISH. I purposely asked only a very few people here to-day and gave no publicity to the meeting, so that we could get through the hearing, and afford the committee ample opportunity to ask questions after listening to what is said in favor of the resolution. I hope then we can get down to business expeditiously and vote on the proposition. But, Mr. Chairman, as you say, you expect to call a meeting of the committee Thursday, a few days more or less will not make any difference as long as we can get action on the resolution before Mr. Cockran sails for Europe.

Mr. COCKRAN. I may be there ahead of you.

Mr. FISH. Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jew, is to-day a comparatively sterile country, due to the wanton and deplorable policy of desolation systematically carried out by its rulers, the Turks, for many centuries. What was once the country of milk and honey has become, through misrule and oppression, a devastated and sparsely settled land. The Jewish people have established many prosperous colonies there and have demonstrated successfully the agricultural possibilities. There are countless thousands of oppressed, starving, and homeless Jews in Poland, Galicia, Austria, Hungary, and Rumania, whose business has been ruined and property destroyed by the ravages of the World War, and the subsequent revolutions and civil strife, who are praying and eager to go to live in Palestine. These poor and unhappy people, living in the ghettos, and even in the forests of Eastern Europe have no means to pay for their transportation to Palestine. The Jews of England and America are willing to supply vast sums to help their oppressed coreligionists to go to Palestine, provided a national home is established there for them on a solid basis, under a British mandate, and guaranteed by the great nations of the world.

The famous Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917, in the midst of the World War pledged the British Government to use their best efforts toward the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

We of America should be glad to give our support to this just and humanitarian project. The Jewish people with their energy and indomitable will backed by enormous financial resources are ready to make fertile the sterile lands of Palestine; to harness its water power; to develop its commerce, and lastly but not least inaugurate its industrial life.

This resolution is purely a moral one expressing our favorable attitude toward the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and commits us to no foreign obligations or entanglements. The protection of the holy places is carefully provided for, as well as that of the rights of Christians and all non-Jewish people. There is a strong religious and humanitarian appeal to the project beyond the purely material development of Palestine, and the fulfillment of a war obligation.

Most Zionists anticipate the eventual creation there of an enlightened state under Jewish autonomy, a center for Jewish culture and development in that ancient land given to Abraham by Jehovah, and consecrated in all Jewish hearts as the birthplace of their traditions.

I wish to introduce Mr. Lipsky, who represents the Zionist Organization of America, with headquarters in New York at 55 Fifth Avenue, and with branches throughout America. It is, I understand, in cooperation with other Zionist organizations throughout the world.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Kindly state your name and address.

**STATEMENT OF MR. LOUIS LIPSKY, 55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY.**

Mr. LIPSKY. I would prefer to withhold my statement until Thursday.

The CHAIRMAN. The difficulty about that is this: The members, as a rule, are rather late in arriving, and our sessions do not ordinarily last over a hour. Mr. Fish is in a hurry to have these matters disposed of, but I am satisfied these parties who will appear Thursday, will take all of the forenoon. So we will follow th's order, that the proponents of the measure may speak first; those opposed last.

Mr. LIPSKY. I was born in the United States. I am a journalist by profession. I am here representing the Zionist Organization of America, which is an organization in existence in the United States for over 25 years. It represents a membership of over 40,000. We have a special women's organization, which



has a membership of about 15,000. Connected with our organization are a number of auxiliary groups national in their scope, a national college organization, and a young people's organization. We have affiliated with us an organization composed of insured members, the Order Sons of Zion, with a membership of 5,000. In addition to those organizations directly concerned in the promotion of the interests of the Jewish national home in Palestine, we have the support of auxiliary organizations that are national in their character; the Independent Order Brith Sholom, which has a membership of 70,000. They are closely affiliated with us and in all their Jewish endeavors act together with us. There is a similar organization called the Independent Order of Brith Abraham, of which Judge Aaron J. Levy is grand master. This organization has a membership of over 200,000, all of them, so far as their Jewish activities are concerned, cooperating with us for Zionist purposes.

The Jews of the United States held a Congress two years ago, after the Balfour declaration of the British Government, prior to the peace conference. There were over 360,000 Jews who voted for the delegates who attended that Congress. In addition to the 360,000 voters, who elected 300 delegates, there were also 100 delegates elected by the following organizations, practically every national Jewish organization: the American Jewish committee, of which Mr. Lou's Marshall is chairman; The Independent Order Bnai Brith, of which Mr. Adolph Kraus of Chicago is chairman; the Order Brith Abraham; the Association of Orthodox Rabbis; the Independent Western Star Order; the Independent Workmen's Circle of America; the Progressive Order of the West; the United Synagogue of America composed of the conservative congregations in the United States; the United Hebrew Trades, which represents an association of the Jewish trades unions in New York City; the faculty of the Rabbinical College of America, of which Dr. Revell is the president; the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, which is an organization of orthodox Jewish congregations somewhat similar to the United Synagogues, except that it is more orthodox. The United Synagogue of America represents those organizations that are affiliated with the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, of which the late Doctor Schechter was president.

Mr. COCKRAN. What is the significance of the word orthodox?

Mr. LIPSKY. There are various degrees of plety or conformity to tradition.

Mr. COCKRAN. Observance.

Mr. LIPSKY. The orthodox are those that preserve the details of ceremonials and traditions. Then there is a conservative section represented in the United States by the followers of the late Dr. S. Schechter, who trained a large number of rabbis at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. They are not as strict as the traditional orthodox wing.

Mr. COCKRAN. Where they differ is on matters of ceremonial or is it on matters of faith?

Mr. LIPSKY. Largely matters of ceremonial. Intrinsically, so far as these two parties are concerned, they are the same.

Mr. COCKRAN. There are conservatives and orthodox.

Mr. LIPSKY. Then there is the reform wing among the Jews, a very small number so far as numbers go in the United States. Those were also represented.

Mr. COCKRAN. Where do they differ from the other?

Mr. LIPSKY. The reform Jewish synagogue differs from the orthodox in denying the authority of the commentaries on the law.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is, the Scripture?

Mr. LIPSKY. For example, the Talmud. The reform Jews do not agree that the laws that are derived from commentaries on the Bible are binding upon them. Out of that grew quite a great deal of difference in ceremonial and also in dogma. The reform Jewish synagogue was created or established in Germany about 70 years ago. It is a movement to adjust the Jewish traditions to the local conditions. The rabbis graduated from that school in Germany fostered reform Judaism in the United States. The English reform Jew is very moderate as compared to the German reform school in the United States. They are much more conservative. In addition to those organizations that I have mentioned, there are the American Union of Rumanian Jews; the Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis, represented by Dr. Maurice H. Harris, and the Federation of Jewish Farmers of America.

Mr. COCKRAN. Jewish farmers?

Mr. LIPSKY. Jewish farmers. This [indicating] is a record of the proceedings of the American Jewish Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. What bearing have these organizations upon the pending resolution?

Mr. LIPSKY. I am just coming to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; proceed.

Mr. LIPSKY. At this American Jewish Congress several resolutions were unanimously adopted. As I have indicated, there were 360,000 Jewish voters who voted for the delegates. In addition the national organizations whose names I have just read elected delegates outside of those elected by popular vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you stated the date of that convention?

Mr. LIPSKY. December, 1918, at Philadelphia. At this congress the following resolutions were adopted practically unanimously. There was one gentleman who voted against them:

"The American Jewish Congress, speaking for the Jews of America, expresses its appreciation of the historic and epoch-making declaration addressed by His Majesty's Government on November 2, 1917, to the Jewish people, through the Zionist organization, in which it approved of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and pledged to use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object—it being clearly understood"—

These were provisos put in there at the request of the Zionist organization so that there would be no misunderstanding.

"\* \* \* it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The first proviso indicated the peaceful intentions of the Jews with regard to the development of Palestine, nothing to be done in Palestine to prejudice the interests of any racial or religious community in Palestine. The second to prevent any misunderstanding as to the status of Jews outside of Palestine, that the national home or haven of refuge to be created for the Jewish people in Palestine should not affect their status outside of Palestine; on the assumption that having a national home in Palestine, the Jewish civil status elsewhere should not be adversely affected.

Mr. COCKRAN. You do not want their civil rights in America to be affected by the fact that there is a Jewish state in Palestine?

Mr. LIPSKY. So far as the Jews are concerned, native-born citizens in any other country, the fact that a national home is established for the Jewish people in Palestine should not affect their citizenship in any other country.

Mr. KENNEDY. What does this national home mean; that an independent state is to be set up there?

Mr. LIPSKY. I will read further, and you will see:

"The American Jewish Congress further expresses its appreciation of the approval of the British declaration expressed by the Governments of France, Italy, Greece, Serbia, and Holland.

"The American Jewish Congress pledges the cooperation of the Jews of America to the end that a Jewish national home, as set forth in said declaration, may be realized in a manner worthy of the traditions and the high ideals of the Jewish people."

That was the resolution adopted by the Jewish Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a copy of the British declaration?

Mr. LIPSKY. Of the Balfour declaration?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This record will be read by the members of the House.

Mr. LIPSKY. I will read the declaration.

The CHAIRMAN. If the committee wishes it.

Mr. LIPSKY. It is a brief statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. LIPSKY (reading):

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the declaration of Mr. Balfour or of the British Government?

Mr. LIPSKY. Mr. Balfour at that time was secretary of state for foreign affairs of the British Government. It was issued as a consequence of a resolution adopted at a cabinet meeting.

Mr. COCKRAN. It states it is a Government declaration.

Mr. LIPSKY. This declaration was presented by Mr. Balfour to the cabinet and approved by the cabinet before it was issued. This declaration was sent by Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild, who was at that time vice president of the English Zionist organization. That declaration was subsequently approved by the French Government and other Governments of the world.

Mr. COCKRAN. Have you the record of that?

Mr. LIPSKY. That is all in this document.

Mr. COCKRAN. You have the approval of France, Italy, Greece, Serbia, and Holland?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. Did they approve the adoption of the terms or was it a general approval expressed in their own way?

Mr. LIPSKY. The official legal approval will be indicated in subsequent proceedings, as I shall state them. So far as the Peace Conference is concerned, this declaration did not remain merely as a declaration, but was subsequently presented to the Peace Conference at Versailles, and it was then turned over to the San Remo conference, where action was taken with regard to the Balfour declaration.

The CHAIRMAN. This record is printed and Members of the House who desire to read it will do so before passing any measure. It is, therefore, important, if there is any documentary evidence, that it be made part of the record. There are 435 men in the House, some of whom may not have heard of it before, and if you will bear that in mind, and wherever you have an official document hand it to the stenographer, you will get your case in a much better way before the House.

Mr. LIPSKY. I substantiate all the things that I say by the documents here.

The other resolution adopted by the congress was this:

"That the American Jewish Congress instruct its delegation in Europe to cooperate with the representatives"—

The American Jewish Congress elected delegates to proceed to Europe to attend the Peace Conference, the members of that delegation being Judge Julian W. Mack, Louis Marshall, Col. Harry Cutler, of Providence, and Rabbi B. L. Leventhal, of Philadelphia, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Joseph Barondess, Mr. Jacob de Haas, Leopold Benedict, and Dr. S. Syrkia. [Continuing reading:]

"That the American Jewish Congress instruct its delegation in Europe to cooperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations and specifically with the world Zionist organization, to the end that the Peace Conference may recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine, and declare that in accordance with the British Government's declaration of November 2, 1917, indorsed by the allied governments and the President of the United States"—

I might explain that President Wilson wrote a letter to Dr. Stephen S. Wise, in which he personally expressed his viewpoint with regard to the Balfour declaration. I have a copy of the letter here:

#### LETTER OF PRESIDENT WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, D. C., August 31, 1918.

MY DEAR RABBI WISE: I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weizmann Commission has done in Palestine at the instance of the British Government, and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the declaration by Mr. Balfour, on behalf of the British Government, of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries.

I think that all Americans will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress the Weizmann Commission has been able to lay the founda-

tion of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem with the promise that that bears of spiritual rebirth.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE,  
*Chairman, Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs,  
New York.*

MR. LIPSKY (continuing). "There shall be established such political, administrative, and economic conditions in Palestine as will assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such League of Nations as may be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth"—

At that time the thought was that an association of nations would be formed at the Peace Conference—

"it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

This resolution was adopted by the American Jewish Congress. I am stating these facts here simply to indicate the sentiment of the Jews of this country with regard to the Zionist movement. Three hundred sixty thousand Jewish men and women went to the polls and voted for delegates to the Jewish Congress, thirty or forty national Jewish organizations, representing practically the organized strength of all the Jewish people of this country, sent their delegates to the Congress and these delegates elected by the popular vote and national organizations came together at Philadelphia in the American Jewish Congress and adopted those resolutions.

MR. FISH. How many Jews are there in the United States?

MR. LIPSKY. There are a little over three million Jews, of whom more than one million are in New York City.

MR. COCKRAN. There are 1,500,000 in the State.

MR. LIPSKY. Those resolutions were adopted by this representative body, and I think it indicates clearly the attitude of the mind of the Jews of this country with regard to it.

MR. FISH. Is there any pronounced opposition among the Jews themselves? There may be some who are indifferent, but is there any organized opposition?

MR. LIPSKY. There is no organized opposition to the Zionist movement. There are individuals here and there who are opposed to it. There are persons who, because of certain implications of reform Judaism, assume that it is necessary as a consequence of that belief to be opposed to any organization of Jewish people which has to do with other than strictly religious or philanthropic matters.

THE CHAIRMAN. Was this conference in 1918 made up of orthodox Jews or of orthodox, conservative, and reform Jews?

MR. LIPSKY. Of all elements. The Independent Order Bnai Brith is an organization composed primarily of reform Jews. The Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis is an organization of reform Jews. There are also represented by the Order Brith Abraham a certain percentage of reform Jews. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations was represented in the American Jewish Congress in the original call, but they had no delegate present.

MR. BEGG. Would you permit a question purely for information?

MR. LIPSKY. Certainly.

MR. BEGG. Is it the intention, if this ultimately succeeds, to establish a state, I will say, more for the purpose of retaining the historic precedents of the Jewish people, or is it to establish a place where the Jews will come back to in some considerable number and establish their home? What is really the purpose of the movement?

MR. LIPSKY. The purpose of the movement is to establish a home for the Jewish people in Palestine, where they may develop their own culture and their own life without oppressive alien influences.

MR. FISH. Working out their destinies in the world?

MR. LIPSKY. In their own way, without persecution, without oppression, without the intrusion of ideals that are alien to them; a free Jewish life in Palestine under associations that bring back to them memories of the historic achievements of the Jewish race, which would act as an inspiration to them. If out of that settlement of the Jews certain forms of government should develop they would naturally be developed for the protection of whatever life is created in Palestine.

Mr. BEGG. What could you do in Palestine that you could not do in the United States beyond the restoration of the historic precedents?

Mr. LIPSKY. First of all, that is a question which if raised not in the United States might be a pertinent question.

Mr. BEGG. I do not want to embarrass you.

Mr. LIPSKY. There are 14,000,000 Jews in the world. There are 3,000,000 of these in the United States. The United States Government has passed certain restrictive measures against immigration. But as far as the United States is concerned, you could say that in the United States the Jews have perfect freedom. We are equal citizens. We develop with the institutions of America, etc., but there are 10,000,000 that are not here. There are 10,000,000 that are subject to all variations of persecution in eastern Europe, that make the Jewish people the victims.

Mr. BEGG. This would be a haven for people not in the United States?

Mr. LIPSKY. To those who need it most it comes as the salvation. To those who need it least it is an inspiration to philanthropic endeavor and humanitarian and racial interests. Those who need it most are those people now being oppressed, driven from one country to another, who do not know exactly where they belong, and there are 10,000,000 Jewish people over there suffering these persecutions.

The CHAIRMAN. You would hardly say the entire 10,000,000 are suffering?

Mr. LIPSKY. Of course not, but where you find in the capitals of Europe at the present time 10,000 to 20,000 of the best young men with nothing to do, treated as aliens in the cities of Vienna, Warsaw, Constantinople, Trieste, Bucharest, tens of thousands of young men with nothing to do and not being regarded as citizens of the country where they are, that is an indication of the tragic fact that 10,000,000 Jews are in serious trouble.

Mr. FISH. I think your figures are high. It practically means that every Jew outside of America is oppressed. That is not the fact.

Mr. LIPSKY. No. Assume in the United States, with 3,000,000 population, you have 500,000 of them constantly in distress, you would be justified in saying that the 3,000,000 are affected, because they have the burden of caring and looking after the 500,000 that are existing under adverse conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the condition of the Jews in Vienna any worse than that of the other people in Vienna?

Mr. LIPSKY. Much worse, because they are refugees.

Mr. BEGG. That is the same question I am going to ask: Do the Jewish people in Russia suffer any worse than the Letts or the rest of them in the fluctuations in power occurring during this disorganized condition? If they establish a government and bring order out of chaos, will the Jews be treated as the rest of the people?

Mr. LIPSKY. Hardly possible, because they were not treated as were the natives, and the chances that they will be treated as other people are very small.

Mr. BEGG. Is that the case in countries adjoining Russia where they have a stable government?

Mr. FISH. In Rumania, Poland, and Hungary they are not treated as equals.

Mr. LIPSKY. The Jewish people in Poland were the middlemen, who introduced industry and commerce into the country, and always have been identified with commerce and industry. And from the first Poland regarded over 60 per cent of the Jewish people as aliens, although they had contributed to the upbuilding of the country and had become a part of it. Because they were Jews they were regarded as aliens and treated accordingly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you base that statement on the report brought to America by Louis Marshall?

Mr. LIPSKY. Mr. Marshall never was in Poland.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever read the report of the American commission that went to Poland for the purpose of investigating the pogroms?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Palestine is now under the control of Great Britain under a mandate. Is that the fact?

Mr. LIPSKY. I was going to go ahead with the story.

Mr. COCKRAN. What are the relative numbers of Jews and Mohammedans in Palestine now?

Mr. LIPSKY. At the present time there are 600,000 Arabs in Palestine and 80,000 Jews; that is, Mohammedan Arabs and Christian Arabs. The Mohammedan Arabs outnumber the Christians.

Mr. COCKRAN. The Mohammedans would be three to one to the rest of the population?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes.

Mr. COLE. What are you going to do with them? Leave them in the country or expel them?

Mr. LIPSKY. No; the facts with regard to Palestine are these: Palestine is now occupied to the extent of 10 per cent of its territory by the present population.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the size of the territory?

Mr. LIPSKY. It is larger than the State of Rhode Island.

Mr. COCKRAN. Most of it is barren country around between Jerusalem and the shore. There is scarcely any arable land.

Mr. LIPSKY. Then it is peculiar—the choice of the Jewish people to go there.

The CHAIRMAN. You say Palestine would be a haven of refuge to the Jewish people. How could they make a living in that barren country? Suppose two or three million Jewish refugees should go to Palestine. Will they make a living in that country?

Mr. LIPSKY. We have plans for the economic development of Palestine which would provide for at least 5,000,000 people to live in Palestine.

Mr. COCKRAN. What would they do—agriculture?

Mr. LIPSKY. The problem of Palestine has been that it was regarded by the Turkish Government as the outpost of the Empire, and because it was so regarded they wanted it to be as barren as it possibly could be. They had taxes imposed in Palestine that made it impossible for industry to develop, put taxes on trees which stimulated the destruction of the trees. They put imposts upon trade and made it impossible for trade to exist. They made taxes in such a form that the farmers who grew things never knew exactly how much taxes they would have to pay. The result of this effort of the Turks to preserve Palestine as a desolate outpost of the Empire has been to remove trees from Palestine and display barren rocks and to promote aridness. The Zionist organization has in hand now a concession that has been granted by the British Government for the development of the water power of the Jordan River.

One of the Zionist engineers now in this country, Mr. Rutenberg, has developed the plans and with the expenditure of \$5,000,000 the whole of that part of Palestine will be covered by the electrical plant and it will be developed into an industrial center, and the water of the Jordan River will irrigate the farms and in the course of 10 years these rocks will be covered with trees. The farms will be irrigated. There will be an industrial development all along the Jordan River. Palestine is a deserted country, not a barren country. Palestine is a fruitful country, but it has not been made fruitful because nobody was working on it. For 400 years there have been Arabs in Palestine. It is the same now, but due to the government and due to their own indolence they have never done anything to develop it. Only with the incoming of the Jews in the last 40 years have there sprouted in Palestine new institutions; schools, new cities, roads have been built, and enterprises have been introduced in Palestine. Whatever has been created in Palestine in the last 25 or 30 years has been created only by Jews. No other people came there; nobody went to Palestine to build it up except the Jewish people. Whether it is a desolate country or not, whether 10,000,000 can get in or not, the Jewish people make their choice and say, we are going to build up this country; we are going to make this a better country. We are going to make it ours through labor and sacrifice. You may think it is unprofitable. The Jewish people are going there to build it up for the sake of their ideals and their future.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that the Jews in Poland and a number of other places were intermediaries in commercial life?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would these intermediaries go to Palestine? They would not enter into industrial life there?

Mr. LIPSKY. Some of them might.

The CHAIRMAN. Very few.

Mr. LIPSKY. Probably. But we are counting upon those, unfortunately; we are counting upon the thousands that are displaced. There are hundreds of thousands of Jews displaced from Poland, Armenia, Transylvania, and Galicia, and out of Russia. They must go somewhere. It is not a question of choice with them. They must go somewhere.

Mr. COOPER. Referring to the second paragraph of the resolution—

"Whereas owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein the Jewish people, under definite and adequate international guaranties are to be enabled, with due regard to the rights of all elements of the population of Palestine and to the sanctity of its holy places, to re-create and reorganize a national home in the land of their fathers—"

That states a fact, and the fact is this, that they are already under definite and adequate international guaranties. What are those definite international guaranties?

Mr. COCKRAN. We are try'ng to get the facts of the present economic conditions.

Mr. COOPER. That is the first thing to be ascertained.

Mr. FISH. They have explained that is in the Balfour declaration.

Mr. LIPSKY. The Balfour declaration during the period of the war.

Mr. COOPER. I know about that.

Mr. LIPSKY. It was indorsed by the allied governments. In line with that Balfour declaration, at the conference of the allied governments in San Remo in April, 1920, were created these conditions mentioned in the preamble of the resolution; that is, at San Remo the conference of the allied governments indorsed the Balfour declaration, and embodied the Balfour declaration in the treaty of Sevres with the Turkish Empire. They agreed among themselves with regard to certain conditions to be created, and among those conditions were these: That Syria, formerly part of the Turkish Empire, should be given under a mandate to the French Government; that Mesopotamia and Palestine should be given to the British Government under a mandate.

Mr. COOPER. At San Remo and in the treaty of Sevres?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes. I quote the letter of Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild.

FOREIGN OFFICE, November 2, 1917.

DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD:

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to, and approved by, the cabinet:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

Mr. COOPER. The Armenians claim that they were guaranteed certain rights under the treaty of Sevres by these same people and that they have totally disregarded the guaranties under the same treaty given to Armenia. What is there to show that the guaranties of the Armenians, disregarded in their case, will be observed in the case of the Jewish people?

Mr. LIPSKY. We are simply asking the American Government to express its sympathy with our endeavors. We will be more than glad to know that the American Government expresses its sympathy and interest in the Armenian people and hope America can express its sympathy and interest in the well-being of all oppressed peoples. We can not here ask assurances with regard to the conduct of the British Government. We simply want support and good will of the American Government in what we regard our just rights in the matter.

Mr. COCKRAN. How is it proposed to put the Jewish people in possession of this land?

Mr. LIPSKY. By purchase. We are not expropriating; we are purchasing. We have purchased only recently over 12,000 acres of land at an expense of \$1,500,000, purchased from the Arabs. No land in Palestine has been gotten except by purchase. There is no intention whatsoever to expropriate anybody.

Mr. FISH. There are a number of others who want to be heard, and I will ask you to finish in 10 minutes.

Mr. LIPSKY. There have been interruptions. I can finish in five minutes.

Mr. FISH. The interruptions have been valuable.

Mr. BEGG. If there is nothing beyond an expression of what is written in this resolution, an expression of satisfaction and sympathy, have you not a right to take it for granted that you have that? In other words, what is the concrete



good, or what abstract good can come out of a declaration of sympathy from the Nation that has always treated the Jews as equals? In other words, a Jewish-American is just as much an American as an Irish or Scotch or Welsh American. Supposing you pass this and then it flunks, is there any likelihood that they would come back and say, you are the partner of it and now come across and give us money? What have you not got that you will have if this goes through? That is vital in this.

Mr. LIPSKY. I will explain. Since the San Remo conference the mandate that was to be given to Great Britain has been held in abeyance, because when it came to present the treaty of Sevres to the Turks for signature the Allied Governments could not find the Turks; they did not have any party there prepared to sign on behalf of the Turks. So the treaty of Sevres was held in abeyance. Because the treaty of Sevres was being held in abeyance, conditions in Palestine being uncertain, the British Government was unable to proceed in a legal way with the development of the country, with the granting of concessions, with the establishment of certain permanent institutions; there have been all sorts of troubles with regard to our affairs. We are also finding it hard to keep the Jewish people organized in this work, because the conditions are uncertain; we do not know exactly what is going to happen. The treaty of Sevres is not signed; the mandate is not actually under the League of Nations; the British Government is hesitating, and in England there is developing an anti-Semitic movement which aims at us, and we have to fight that anti-Semitic movement which paralyzes our constructive efforts, and in the United States itself we have exactly the same difficulty. The Jews are quite willing to go to Palestine, willing to give money to build up Palestine, to do anything for building up a Jewish home in Palestine, but can not do it while our affairs are in a state of uncertainty. We hope that other Governments will adopt resolutions similar to this and that we shall get an expression of opinion that will help to stabilize the situation.

Mr. KENNEDY. And keep up interest among the Jews in this country?

Mr. LIPSKY. And keep up the faith of Jews in other countries who depend upon us, upon our sacrifices, upon the money we can collect, to build up Palestine, because they can not build it up themselves. The Jews are not making the necessary sacrifices because the conditions are uncertain. They see the enemies of the Jewish people organizing everywhere, new enemies developing, and there are breaks in the ranks here and there. As far as stabilizing conditions, the American Government, as a matter of fact, is a party to a certain extent to these international guaranties.

Mr. BEGG. How far?

Mr. LIPSKY. The Balfour declaration was approved by a representative of the American Government in advance of its being published. An American representative at Versailles gave assurances to the other Governments with regard to the Balfour declaration declaring a Jewish national home, and that the support of the American Government could be depended upon.

Mr. BEGG. Is it a fact that the man or men who gave the assurances failed to recognize another coordinate branch of the American Government?

Mr. LIPSKY. President Harding himself wrote a letter.

Mr. BEGG. Well, he does not have any more right to do that than President Wilson.

Mr. LIPSKY. I simply say when an agent goes to a very important conference representing the American Government and gives assurances to the conference and discusses these assurances certain acts are performed. I am not assuming to hold anybody accountable for them. I simply say there is a moral obligation involved in that action.

Mr. BEGG. A friendship obligation is all right, but I do not see that the United States would be obligated further.

Mr. FISH. I will say about this particular resolution that I showed this resolution to the Secretary of State, but as it was originally worded it pledged the support of the Government and the Secretary took exception to pledging our support to the project, and those words were stricken out and changed to read as they are in the resolution now. So there is no indication or implication of pledging our support in this resolution.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Did the Secretary of State see the language of this resolution?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Mr. ACKERMAN. He approved of this?

Mr. FISH. He has no objection. In fact he suggested a few changes, which were made.

Mr. COCKRAN. He did not take any affirmative action, but approved it.

Mr. LIPSKY. We understand that the State Department has given its approval to a resolution introduced in the Senate by Senator Lodge, which goes very much further than this resolution presented here.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that approval of the State Department in writing?

Mr. LIPSKY. No.

Mr. FISH. It is not quite right to commit the Secretary of State on this. I have talked to the Secretary and will say he has no objection to it. I think if we asked him he would probably give us his testimony.

Mr. LIPSKY. I will simply put into the record this resolution of Senator Lodge in the Senate. I will also present for the record opinions expressed by American Congressmen and Senators favoring the Balfour Declaration.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you and Mr. Fish see that the record contains the Balfour declaration and approval by the Allied Powers at Versailles, if any, and the portion of the treaty at San Remo relating to this matter?

Mr. LIPSKY. The treaty of Sevres, yes, and I will submit to you a copy of the mandate which has been submitted by the British Government to the League of Nations for approval which is a part of the treaty of Sevres.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I want to exclude from the record all matters not relating to this particular subject so as to hold down the cost of printing.

Mr. LIPSKY. I will also put in the record a letter that President Harding sent to Mr. Alexander Wolf.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, June 1, 1921.

MY DEAR MR. WOLF: I have already communicated to you my regrets that it is impossible for me to be present at the luncheon in honor of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the Zionist Commission to the United States, but I want to add an expression of my most friendly interest in and for the Zionist movement. It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Hebrew people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic national home, and there enter on a new and yet greater phase of their contribution to the advance of humanity.

Please assure those who will be gathered at the luncheon to-day, of my continued concern for the cause in which you are all so zealously laboring.

Most sincerely yours,

(Signed) WARREN G. HARDING.

MR. ALEXANDER WOLF,  
Chairman World Zionist Organization Reception Committee,  
Hotel Willard, Washington, D. C.

Mr. LINTHICUM. You said there were something like 60,000 Jews in Palestine.

Mr. LIPSKY. Eighty thousand, increasing at the rate of 1,500 per month under adverse conditions.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Then there are 700,000 Arabs and Turks.

Mr. LIPSKY. No Turks at all; there are Arabs. A Turk belongs to a different race.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I know that, but the Arabs claim to be descended from the patriarchs also.

Mr. LIPSKY. They are cousins of ours by race. They belong to the Semitic race.

Mr. COCKRAN. They are descendants of Hagar.

Mr. LIPSKY. Left-handed cousins.

Mr. MOORES. Of the Mohammedans and Christians, what proportion are Mohammedans of these Arabs?

Mr. LIPSKY. Three to one.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Sir Herbert Samuel, governor general, wants the Jews admitted as fast as they can come.

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes; and we, too. Those people come in at the rate of 1,500 a month and go to work in building roads. They come from different parts of eastern Europe. They have graduated from universities and professions and come into Palestine and take jobs for the same price of labor as Arabs, practically the same, on roads, go to work under the most difficult conditions to help build up the country.

Mr. LINTHICUM. What are you doing to build up the soil?

Mr. LIPSKY. We have purchased 12,000 acres north of Palestine, on which colonization has already been attempted. We have 71 flourishing Jewish colonies, and Jewish farmers are living an independent economic existence.

Mr. LINTHICUM. You have developed Rishon le-Zion.

Mr. LIPSKY. Rishon le-Zion is the first colony in Zion. That is very prosperous. The colony has about 2,500 farmers. The colony of Petah Tikvah has over 3,000. In Judea there are some colonies on the outskirts to the north. This new tract of land of 12,000 acres will be settled by pioneers that are coming in.

Mr. LINTHICUM. That is in the valley of Esdraelon.

Mr. LIPSKY. That is the land which we have purchased for about \$1,500,000.

Mr. LINTHICUM. As I understand, there are two views as to the Zionist movement.

Mr. LIPSKY. There may be three or four.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Two important ones.

Mr. LIPSKY. The truth is that there are no two views about it.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Justice Brandeis?

Mr. LIPSKY. Mr. Brandeis was honorary president of our organization last year and retired at the last convention. In view of Mr. Brandeis, as far as the objects of the movement are concerned, they are identical with the Zionist Organization of America. There are differences of views with regard to internal questions as to the methods to be adopted in developing the land as the Jewish national home. He is a member of our organization.

Mr. LINTHICUM. What I was getting at is that Doctor Lazaron, of my city, I do not know, but perhaps I ought not to think so, but I think he is one of the leading men of the faith in the country, and he was speaking about this very matter the other evening. I just returned from there and he was expressing that there were two views, one of them being that we should do everything possible as a nation to help in this movement. The other view was that some people thought that the Jews throughout the world ought to be united, and as one solid movement throughout the world they ought to help this organization.

Mr. LIPSKY. There is a difference among the Jews themselves as to how to proceed with the work. There are some Zionists who think that the work should be undertaken by groups of people in all parts of the world.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Reaching each nation.

Mr. LIPSKY. No; that each group of Jews, living in this or that country, along its own lines, not concentrated in one organization, or through one agency, each group should have its own activities and interests. There is another view that holds that this will not produce results. The way to produce results is to collect money in a national way and to establish the public utilities first, and then let the individual groups come along and do what is called the individual work. The Zionist Organization, for example, should buy a large tract of land and develop it, should provide for a scheme for utilizing the water power, etc.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Do you propose to have one organization of Jews or each nation have its own separate organization?

Mr. LIPSKY. Each nation has its own separate organization but, is united in one international organization which meets once every two years in a congress. That has been meeting for the last 25 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that President Wilson had impliedly committed the United States to a haven of refuge for Jews. Was that in the letter to Rabbi Wise?

Mr. LIPSKY. I would not use the words impliedly committed. I simply said President Wilson in a communication took a position with relation to the Balfour declaration.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything in writing from President Wilson.

Mr. LIPSKY. There is the letter to Rabbi Wise, and also a reiteration of the first letter which was issued by Mr. Wilson, I think, when he was in Paris. Mr. Wilson wrote this letter not from Paris but from Washington. The original letter was written to Doctor Wise.

The CHAIRMAN. What action did they take on the question at Versailles?

Mr. LIPSKY. A hearing. There was no action. Action was taken at San Remo.

The CHAIRMAN. To get the record straight, have you any official action at Versailles?

Mr. LIPSKY. There were hearings at Versailles and final action at San Remo. The American Government was not represented at San Remo.

Mr. COCKRAN. As an observer.

The CHAIRMAN. No, not as an observer.

Mr. LIPSKY. In addition to statistical details the committee should take into account the feelings of the Jewish people. You might have doubt about the feasibility of the proposition with regard to Palestine. The Jewish people have no doubt about it. The Jewish people have, whether they have been minorities or not, expressed themselves with regard to Palestine for generations and generations. It is in their prayer books, repeated by them three times a day, part of the ceremony and poetry and prophecies of the Jewish people. Everything that relates to the Jewish people has encouraged the return to Palestine, and it is a longing which we now express in concrete, organized form, which we are placing here before you in terms of figures to be taken into account with relation to all the antecedent feelings and emotion and desires expressed by the Jewish people during the period of their persecutions and humiliation. This is the first concrete endeavor on the part of the Jewish people through their own labor and sacrifices to build up that which their ancestors were dreaming about for generations and generations back.

Mr. COCKRAN. The wailing Jews around the old temple is quite a ceremony.

Mr. LIPSKY. The passover celebration is replete with references to the return to Zion.

Mr. COCKRAN. Do not the Jewish people assemble around there and wail every Friday?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes; they repeat their prayers at the Wailing Wall. I hope the committee in considering this matter will not consider it purely as if they were economists trying to decide whether this is a good thing for the Jewish people to do, but consider this as an expression of the sentiment and feelings and ideals of the Jewish people, of the soul of the Jewish people for generations. The longing of the Jewish people is put down in this Balfour declaration and is so regarded by Jews all over the world. The Balfour declaration is regarded by us as the most important document in modern Jewish history. It is known from one end of the Jewish world to another. It is likened to the edict of Cyrus the Great. Any person who attaches himself to this act of redemption of the Jewish land is a party to an epochal event in Jewish history.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Your idea is to continue a government in Palestine under English mandate?

Mr. LIPSKY. The British Government is given a mandatory power over Palestine. It holds that power in Palestine for the purpose of cooperating in creating such political and economic conditions as shall transform Palestine into a national home for the Jewish people, holding it as trustees for the League of Nations.

#### **STATEMENT OF ELIHU D. STONE, OF BOSTON, ASSISTANT UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS.**

Mr. STONE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee:

I am a resident of Boston, a former member of the General Court of Massachusetts, and at present an assistant United States attorney for the district of Massachusetts. I am speaking for the Zionist Organization of America and especially for the Zionist organization in Massachusetts, in asking you to favor this resolution. I might say that I speak for the people of Massachusetts in general, because our legislature recently adopted a joint resolution similar to the one which is now being considered, and also similar to the one introduced by Senator Lodge.

It will indeed be an act of Christian justice to give expression to the sentiments embodied in this resolution.

I desire briefly to emphasize one point, and that is the spiritual aspect of Zionism. Palestine, the ancient home of the Jewish people, is not only to become a home for the Jews but a home for Judaism. There in Palestine the Jew will be able to live his own life, develop his own culture, and make his characteristic contribution to civilization.

Not only is the Jew in exile, but also Judaism.

A Hebrew Palestine, the creation of a people who are in themselves oriental in origin and possessed of the culture of the West, will constitute a symbol and serve as a demonstration of the harmonizing possibilities of both of them. If granted an opportunity to develop their spiritual powers, the Jewish people may

produce another sweet singer like the Shepherd King, another prophet like Isaiah, and maybe, even a lawgiver like Moses.

Thus the first official act of the Zionist organization in Palestine after the British conquest was the laying of the foundation stone of the Hebrew university, on the 24th day of July, 1918, on Mount Scopus. For the renaissance of the Hebraic culture in Palestine is among the sacred aspirations of the Jewish people. A Jewish Palestine will make it possible for the Jewish Nation to take its rightful place as a member of the family of nations, and will enable them the better to serve humanity. We merely ask for the opportunity and for the establishment of such political conditions in Palestine as will make its realization possible.

We are a peaceful people. Our future is the plowshare and not the sword; the book and not the spear.

Mr. BURTON. How far do you anticipate that the Jewish people shall have political control in Palestine.

Mr. STONE. In the mandate recognition is given to what is called a Jewish agency. In all matters relating to the Jewish people in Palestine the Government will deal through that agency with due regard for the rights of all other inhabitants.

Mr. FISH. It is a commission.

Mr. STONE. It is a commission representing the Zionist organization pursuant to the Balfour declaration. The Palestine Government deals with the Arabs through an advisory body.

Mr. BURTON. Made up of Arabs?

Mr. STONE. Yes, of Arabs and others. This is a forecast of a situation similar to what it is in Switzerland where you have different races or nations living side by side speaking two or three different languages without being oppressive.

Mr. FISH. The situation is that England has a mandate in Palestine. England is the only country through its mandate with power to enforce peace over there. If you try to set up in Palestine a Jewish state you could not create it or protect it because the Jews would not have sufficient force themselves, but it must be understood that the Jews themselves hope eventually to create a state there which they will control, and if they fail to get enough of their people to go over there, of course, they will never have a state.

Mr. STONE. In conclusion I wish to state that America's attitude has been misrepresented by our enemies. The opponents of a Jewish Palestine have taken advantage of America's silence and have represented America to be hostile to the establishment in Palestine of a home for the Jewish people. Of course, we know that this is not the fact. Nevertheless, it is a source of encouragement to the forces of violence to which hopes are held out of the withdrawal of the Balfour declaration. The adoption of this resolution which favors the establishment of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine will have the effect of clarifying America's position and will declare that to be a fact which we know is a fact, namely, that the American people are friendly towards the Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

Mr. LINTHICUM. There ought not to be any question about it. But what I am deeply interested in is what developments in the line of productivity go on in Palestine. I am personally interested in knowing that. In these various settlements how much land has been purchased, and so forth? I think the future of the whole movement depends on how much you can make the soil of Palestine again produce.

Mr. STONE. Mr. Lipsky covered that point. I would be guilty of repetition.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Have statistics been filed to that effect?

Mr. STONE. Yes.

Gentlemen, the resolution before you embodies the faith of the Jewish people and gives expression to a longing which has never forsaken them. Forty centuries of history look down upon you—a history written with the tears and blood of the Jewish people. The adoption of this resolution will be a source of strength and inspiration to us and will be in harmony with the great ideals and traditions of the American people.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for your courtesy.

Mr. FISH. I will introduce Dr. Herman Seidel, chairman of the Palestine Foundation Fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

**STATEMENT OF DR. HERMAN SEIDEL, BALTIMORE, MD.**

Doctor SEIDEL. Mr. Chairman, I am chairman of a committee of the State of Maryland for the Palestine foundation fund, organized by the Zionist Organization. I am, therefore, speaking for about 6,000 Baltimoreans, members of the Jewish faith, who have contributed to this fund, expressing in this substantial way their sympathy with the movement. As to the question that was asked: "What will we gain if Congress adopts this resolution?" I, as an American citizen, may say that it is, perhaps, more for sentimental reasons that we request of Congress to adopt this resolution. It is sentimental in that way that we American Jews would like to feel that the work we carry on for the rehabilitation of Zion meets with the sympathy of the representatives of our American Nation. We would like to feel that "the land of the free" expresses its feelings of sympathy to the most oppressed people. While it is true that the American Jews have all the liberties and all the privileges in this country which they desire. It is obviously impossible to make America the home for the Jewish people. We, as individuals, are free and as such, remain true to the country of our adoption; but the Jewish people as a whole are not free. There is only one place that has sufficient attraction to us Jews, where we would bring sufficient sacrifices to make it a home for the Jewish people and that place is Palestine. The Balfour declaration does not intend, and we do not intend in any way to abrogate or restrict the rights of the people now living in Palestine. Palestine is very much underpopulated. There is room for many more to come in and settle. I will, with your permission, read an excerpt of an article from the New Palestine, of April 7, 1922, written by J. Ramsay MacDonald, of the British Labor Party, who visited Palestine some time ago, and who describes what is going on there. Among others he describes the valley of Esdraelon, where the Jews from Eastern Europe are displaying their pioneer work in Palestine. For you might know that at this time there are hundreds of thousands of Jewish young men ready to emigrate into Palestine if we only had the means to provide for them. There are thousands near the borders waiting to enter Palestine. Here is what he says:

"One afternoon as I was crossing the plain of Esdraelon, close to the spot where Saul fought his last fight and fell before the Philistines, I was met by a country cart and jolted over some mile or two of unmade road to one of these new Jewish camps at Nuris, on the northern slopes of Mount Gilboa. Just beyond the spring, where it is said Gideon selected his army of the 300 men who 'lapped of the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth,' I found their tents. Most of them were in the fields, but the anvil in the smithy was clanging, saws and planes were going in the carpenter's shop, through an open door I saw a dentist at work, and in the kitchen pots and pans were rattling.

"The community consisted of 150 persons, selected from those who, as members of the labor corps, had worked on road making for 12 months. They had settled upon a large piece of land, between the railway and the top of the hill, part of which is a swamp and all of it practically out of cultivation. There they are planting 14,000 eucalyptus trees of 60 varieties, 4,000 pines, 500 cypresses, 10,000 olives, together with apple orchards, vineyards, tobacco plantations, and orange groves; they are starting nurseries for the supply of plants, especially trees; they are digging and preparing the land for cultivation; they believe they are relaying the foundations of a new Zion."

This is a description of only one camp. There are many more like this. This shows that it is within the Jewish people, especially of those countries, to make Palestine again the center of civilization.

It should be the privilege of the House of Representatives of our United States to pass this resolution of sympathy with such work. It should be the privilege of any Christian nation to help make the cradle of Christianity again the center of civilization instead of permitting it to remain a land of devastation and epidemics, which it has been now for many centuries.

In this and other countries you may still hear about the difficulties from without and within. We still have opposition; we still have many Jews who oppose Zionism; we still have some Jews who are in fear of a Jewish state, who fear they will be considered unpatriotic. There are some who have not come to the understanding that they could help the Jewish people and at the same time remain good patriots of the country of their adoption. There are many difficulties, but the faith that the bulk of the Jewish people possess, faith in the restoration of Palestine, must ultimately overcome all these diffi-

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culties, and Palestine will be rebuilt. Let us have the record of the sympathetic expression of the American people for the restoration of Palestine by the most oppressed of the nations.

I thank you.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN PHILIP HILL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MARYLAND.**

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, I wish to file a number of telegrams which I have received from representative organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

(The telegrams referred to are as follows:)

[Telegram.]

BALTIMORE, Md., April 17, 1922.

HON. JOHN PHILIP HILL,

*House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:*

The members of the congregation Adath Bnei Israel, Baltimore, Md., in prayer assembled, respectfully petition you to vote in favor of resolution introduced by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Representative Hamilton Fish approving establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Your cooperation and support will be greatly appreciated.

ADATH BNEI ISRAEL CONGREGATION.

Similar telegrams were received from the following-named congregations: Beth Hamedreth Hag Odel, Mogn Abraham, Shaarei Tfiloh, Mikro Kodish, and Rodfei Zedek.

BALTIMORE, Md., April 17, 1922.

HON. JOHN PHILIP HILL,

*Representative of Maryland in United States Congress,*

*House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:*

One thousand members of the Hebrew Young Men's Sick Relief Association, Baltimore, Md., in meeting assembled, April 16, respectfully petition you to vote in favor of the resolutions introduced by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Representative Hamilton Fish, approving the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Your cooperation and support will be greatly appreciated.

I. W. DAVIDSON,

*President Hebrew Young Men's Sick Relief Association.*

Similar telegrams to Mr. Hill were filed by B. Stern, president of the Council of Mizrahi Zionists' Associations of Baltimore; the Oir Hanzirach, of Baltimore; and the members of the firm and employees of the Iron King Overall Co.

Mr. LIPSKY. The Zionist Organization of America had no adequate notice of this hearing, otherwise we would have presented here authentic resolutions and sentiments in regard to favoring this resolution from 1,100 different sections of the United States.

Mr. FISH. I was going to explain to the committee that it was due to my fault, but due intentionally, perhaps, that I did not notify many of your organizations, because we are limited in time. What we had originally hoped was to hold a meeting to-day, hear two or three organizations, and then vote on the resolution. The chairman has called another meeting after this one, however, for Thursday, and hopes to have the vote Thursday. If there is no further business to come before this meeting the committee will stand adjourned.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned to meet again to-morrow, Wednesday, April 19, 1922.)

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Wednesday, April 19, 1922.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Stephen G. Porter (chairman) presiding.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, could we not hear from some one who is opposed to the bill at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. The usual procedure is to let the proponents of the measure present their statements, and then let the other side answer them.



Mr. FISH. There could be no objection to hearing what they have to say. They are here, and I presume would like to be heard, and we would like to know the grounds of their objections.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to keep the proceedings regular. Of course, you are more interested, perhaps, than anyone else in that, because you are the author of the measure.

Mr. FISH. I do not think the matter is very important, and we are ready to proceed. I understand that Congressman Rossdale, of New York, would like to make a statement in favor of the bill.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ALBERT B. ROSSDALE, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK.**

Mr. ROSSDALE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, Congressman Perlman, my colleague from New York City, requests that he be recorded in favor of the resolution, as representing the sentiment of the people of his district. If he were here this morning, and he would be here were it not for the fact that his committee is in session at this moment, he would express himself in favor of this resolution. He has asked me to say for him that he is very much in favor of this resolution. For myself, as representing 391,000 people in my congressional district, I desire to say that they are very much concerned and very much interested in this question. My constituency is probably 50 per cent Jewish, and my people in that district are very much concerned about this question, because all of the 2,000,000 Jewish people in the State of New York and the more than 3,500,000 Jewish people in the United States are deeply interested in this question, as are all the Jews of the world. I believe that the sentiment for Palestine as a Jewish homeland will solve the problem of the centuries.

This resolution expresses the traditional spirit of the American people, of kindly helpfulness to all of the oppressed peoples of the world. It will involve us in no entanglements with any other nations, and, in effect, will be an expression of the sentiment of the American people toward this project which has been promised by Great Britain to the Jewish people. Indeed, in the late World War there was a heavy enlistment of Jewish young men in the United States who were not of American birth, but who enlisted in the regiments that our allies formed in this country to fight in Mesopotamia; about 4,000 men enlisted in this foreign legion, and there was given the express promise that in the event of an allied victory Palestine would be restored to the Jewish people as their ancient homeland. The British Government in the Balfour declaration has expressly promised that Palestine would be restored to the Jews, and I believe that it would be a splendid thing for the American people, for Christian America, to go on record as favoring this project of restoring Palestine and giving to the Jewish people a homeland.

Mr. CONNALLY. The gentleman refers to 3,000,000 Jews in New York.

Mr. ROSSDALE. I referred to 2,000,000 Jews in New York State.

Mr. CONNALLY. What percentage of those Jews does the gentleman estimate would probably migrate to Palestine in case it should be established as a Jewish home?

Mr. ROSSDALE. I can not answer that question. I can not say how many would migrate, but I do not believe that any American Jews will leave America to settle in Palestine.

Mr. COOPER. The great consideration was to make Palestine a home or asylum for those who wished to escape the butcheries that come about at intervals in in continental Europe.

Mr. ROSSDALE. The gentleman has exactly expressed the situation as it is. It would solve all of those troubles growing out of Jewish persecution in all the countries of the world. It would give them a place to go, and it is the only place to which they can go. It is a place that belongs to them, for it is their ancient home.

Mr. COOPER. The feeling among the Jews that they would like to have a country of their own is not different from the feeling among the Norwegians who a few years ago separated from Sweden and restored their old monarchy. It is because they would like to have a country of their own.

Mr. ROSSDALE. Yes, sir; that is it exactly.

Mr. SMITH. That is the sentiment among Christians of the world, also—that is, they would like to have Palestine restored.

Mr. ROSSDALE. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. My question was not prompted by that thought. I understand that thought, but since the gentleman has expressed such an interest in the Jews of New York, I wondered whether any considerable element of them wanted to go back to Palestine, or whether their interest was merely in the interest of the Jewish race.

Mr. ROSSDALE. Practically none of the Jewish people here would emigrate to Palestine. Their roots are firmly embedded in America. I do not know of any Jewish people, among my wide circle of acquaintances among them, that would go over there. In all probability there might be a few idealists who would go there with the idea of assisting the cause in a philanthropic way, or in order to help others there. As for any emigration of American Jews to that country, I do not think there would be any.

Mr. SMITH. They would probably make pilgrimages to Palestine?

Mr. ROSSDALE. Yes, sir; they would do that, and they would contribute to the establishment of the various industries there in the same way that American Christians would do. The Christians in America feel deeply about this matter. The Jewish people gave Christianity to the world, and the Jewish people want to restore Palestine as a Jewish homeland. In doing that, they do not want to conflict with Christian ideas or Christian ideals. They do not want to make it a country exclusively for Jews, because those who know the Jewish people know that the Jews are a very broad and very liberal people and noted for their kindness toward all other people.

Mr. COOPER. One of the provisions of the Balfour declaration, I believe, is that, in the event of the establishment of a Jewish homeland there, or a Jewish government, there shall be absolute freedom of religious worship guaranteed.

Mr. ROSSDALE. Yes, sir; freedom and equality for all races and all creeds, and, also, all civil rights and equality under the law. They are not going in there to take the land away by force or trickery from those who now possess it, but they are buying every farm and every acre of land that they are settling upon. They are clearing off the stony fields, draining the swamps and marshes and reforesting the desert land, which has lain waste for almost 2,000 years. It is in every way an admirable undertaking, and it is a project that I believe Christian America will look upon with a kindly feeling and kindly, helpful spirit. In fact, the whole Christian world approves of it, and, as it progresses, as I hope and believe, it will become the natural place for the merging of the streams of Old World Jewish migration, and in a great measure solve the Old World Jewish question.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I understood you to say there were about 2,000,000 people of the Jewish race in New York?

Mr. ROSSDALE. Yes, sir; but those are only approximate figures. I have not the exact figures, but I believe that my State has about 2,000,000 Jews in its population.

Mr. LINTHICUM. How many of them are in New York City?

Mr. ROSSDALE. About 1,500,000 of them are in the city of Greater New York, and there are about half a million scattered throughout various other parts of the State. I believe there are about 1,500,000 Jews in other parts of the United States. However, those are approximate figures.

Mr. LINTHICUM. What is the population of Greater New York this morning?

Mr. ROSSDALE. The official figures are something like 6,000,000, or slightly over 6,000,000.

Mr. COOPER. I read in two papers last night that if you took a radius of 19 miles of New York, or the same that London has, there would be 7,600,000 people in New York. The statement was made that that is larger than the population of London by about half a million.

Mr. LINTHICUM. By 344,000.

Mr. COOPER. It was something like that.

Mr. ROSSDALE. Palestine has been in possession of the Arabs under Moslem rule for many centuries, and Moslems have not much regard for those ancient monuments that have to do with the establishment of the Christian religion. The preservation of those monuments is of as deep concern and interest to the Jewish people as to the Christian people. The settlement of the Holy Land by the Jewish people would mean that the Judea of the Bible would become the Judea of the present and of the future. It would be a splendidly interesting and beautiful place for Christians to visit. They would rejoice to have all traces of the centuries of blighting Moslem rule removed from that wonderful land of the Bible and see that place restored to what it was in ancient

times as a land of milk and honey. If the Jewish people are permitted to settle in that country, and if the mandate is accepted by Great Britain a feeling of security will be given to them, and if America will but give this expression of opinion, it will have much to do with influencing the final settlement of this question in England. If England accepts the mandate, which provides for security of settlement there, it will only a little while before Palestine, or ancient Judea, will become modern Judea, and be fully restored.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I saw the statement sometime ago that it was once proposed to allow the Mediterranean to flow into the Valley of the Jordan, thus making that a very fertile section, but that Christian sentiment would probably be against it.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you irrigate with salt water?

Mr. LINTHICUM. I was not speaking of irrigating land, but this is an arid section, and if they were to turn the Mediterranean Sea into that valley, it would form an inland sea which would very much improve that whole country.

Mr. ROSSDALE. I read an article about that in a Sunday magazine, I think it was the New York American Sunday magazine. I know the writer very well for he lives in my congressional district, and while he is an able writer and a very able man, I do not think that he was ever in Judea or knows anything about engineering. I think it was simply a Sunday magazine story. Besides I think the article read that the River Jordan would flow into the Dead Sea through a tunnel and freshen the Dead Sea waters. I do not believe, however, that the Jewish people want to do anything that would either change, destroy, or wipe out any of the ancient monuments relating to the wonderful, and beautiful history of the people there. Jewish history is, of course, coincident with that of Christian history for Christianity came to birth in the land of the Jews and all that history is sacred to both Christian and Jew.

The land we now know as Palestine was peopled by the Jews from the dawn of history until the Roman era. Ancient Jewish history in this corner of old Asia gave to the world the highest and noblest inspiration for civilization. The Jewish people did not willingly leave their own country. They were driven out by the conquering Romans in the storm and stress of war and gradually dispersed throughout the world.

Although various alien people succeeded them at different periods, the Jews left an indelible impress upon the land. Even unto the present it is yet a Jewish country. Every landmark, every monument, every name, and every trace of whatever civilization is there is still Jewish.

Notwithstanding their dispersal and scattering throughout the world this remarkable people have never abandoned Judea. All through the centuries Jewish men and women have kept a vigil at the "Wall of Wailing" in Jerusalem. Age after age they continued on in their devotion to this ideal, reverently kissing the moss-covered stones of the remaining wall of the crumbled ruin of their ancient temple there; mingling with their tears fervent prayers for the day of restoration of their people to this land. Through all the long years devout Jews, all over the world, in their daily prayers have piously turned to the East and prayed for the return to Judea. It is a tremendous urge of a great people, this intense age-long desire of the Jews for their ancient homeland. For nineteen hundred years it has been their fervent hope, their longing, and their aspiration. Through all their wanderings and migrations, through all their sufferings, they have never abandoned this resolve. Nor have they ever wavered in their steadfast resolution to again return home. It was their sustaining hope in the Dark Ages. It enabled them to survive persecution and oppression. It gave them the courage to defy the Spanish Inquisition, to withstand medieval tortures of the thumbscrew, the rack, and to struggle against the Russian pogroms. It was the dream vision of Jewish youths and maidens as they bravely went into the fire chanting songs as they were burned at the stake.

Oh, the Jewish people have paid for this devotion with the blood and tears of countless martyrs. Palestine, this ancient Judea, belongs to them, and I hope that generous, liberal-minded America will give this expression of favorable opinion by passing this resolution in favor of the British mandate to hold Palestine for Jewish settlement. The establishment of the Jewish colonists in Palestine has been of great benefit not only to those Jews who have been there a long time and to those who have recently arrived, but also to the Arabs and other inhabitants there. Zionist organizations in America have contributed considerably to relief work in Palestine during the troublesome period of

the late World War. I cite an instance, the sending of the steamship *Vulcan*, laden with foodstuffs and the establishing of relief stations for distributing food rations to Arab and Jew alike. This same organization during the past five years has maintained there its American medical unit at an annual expenditure of \$400,000, giving medical aid to all in need of same without regard to race, creed, or color. The Arabs and the other inhabitants—comprising the bulk of the population there—have led a beggarly existence until the coming of the Jewish colonists commenced to change things for the better. The country has been under Turkish domination from about the time Mahomet first spread his religion of the sword, and there has been no civilization there that is worth the mention. Indeed the rule of the unspeakable Turk is seen in the general desolation, poverty, and ruin everywhere.

The reestablishment of a Jewish Palestine is not without its difficulties and recently there has been some opposition by Arabs against the Jewish colonists. This trouble between Arabs and Jews resulted in various local disturbances and in several cases even riots. This friction between the colonists and the other inhabitants who are mostly Moslem Arabs steeped in ignorance and extreme poverty, has been fomented by the small number of Arab intellectuals, the Effendis, chiefs of tribes and large landowners who ruled the country during the Turkish régime. These near-Turks naturally object to the newer Western civilization which the colonist Jew is bringing to Palestine.

The numerous Jewish agricultural colonies are changing the entire complexion of the country and naturally these conditions threaten the destruction of the old Turk absentee land-owning class for whom the beggarly peasant Arabs tilled the stony soil for a pittance while their masters, these Effendis and chiefs, dwelt in Paris and London, Constantinople, Alexandria, Bagdad and Mecca. Opposition to the Jewish settler is engendered by this small minority who excite the ignorant Moslem Arab by appeals to religious prejudices against the Jewish colonist.

The resettling of Palestine has created a situation somewhat akin to that of the American colonist in his struggle with the American Indian. For like the early American settler on this continent, the Jewish colonist frequently has to till the soil with a rifle in one hand and a hoe in the other. The Nomadic Arab raiders, on a smaller scale are fighting the civilization of the Jewish settler as the Indian fought the American settler on this continent in the early days.

I have not been to Palestine to witness the romance of the return of the Jewish people to their homeland but I have read much of the details of this movement. I have heard the recitals of the story from men who have been to Palestine recently and witnessed the remarkable work of these Jewish "Chalutzin" pioneers who labor under the torrid Judean sun, removing from the fields on the hillsides and in the valleys, the numerous stones which the erosion of soils from centuries of rains have left bare. I have listened to the story of these splendid refugees from European oppression who drain marshes, build roads and houses, plant trees and vineyards, whose splendid elemental labors are making habitable, a land long neglected and lain waste by Turk and Arab and I hope it may be permitted to go on that Palestine may become the safe haven and refuge for the long-oppressed and persecuted Jewish people.

Mr. FISH. Congressman Ansorge is present, and I think would like to say a few words on the subject of the resolution. Before he is introduced, however, I would like to go back to the question of the procedure. The proponents of the measure are here, and they are in a vast majority. There is very little opposition to the resolution throughout the country, and I think the committee is entitled to know what the opposition is. We would like to hear the grounds of the opposition, so that we will be able to answer them. This is not like a disputed question, where there are two sides, or where there are two evenly divided sides. We know there is some opposition somewhere, and we would like to know what the opposition is. We do not know what they base their objections upon, and I hope the committee will hear some statement from the opposition at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the wish of the committee in regard to that? I really thought that we should hear one side, and after they had concluded that we should hear the other side. We will make a rather awkward record otherwise, but if there is no objection to hearing somebody in opposition to the resolution, we will be glad to hear from them.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I would like to hear what they have to say in opposition, and their statements could be inserted in the record at the proper place.

Mr. MOORES. Is there anybody here among the proponents who has been to Palestine since the war? If there is, I want to hear from him. We have not heard from anybody who apparently knows anything about the conditions there during or since the war. Have you anybody here who has been over there during or since the war? If so, I would like to hear him.

Mr. FISH. Yes; we have a gentleman present who has been there. He is one of our main witnesses for to-day, but we want to reserve some of our statements until we can hear from the opposition. This gentleman wants to hear the opposition. These gentlemen who are in favor of the resolution do not know where the opposition comes from or what it is.

Mr. MOORES. The great argument has been that there are a great many Jewish voters in some of the congressional districts. So far, that has been about the only argument.

Mr. FISH. The Jewish people of America are in favor of this proposition, and I want all Congressmen who have large numbers of Jewish voters in their districts and who know their sentiment, to come here and make it known. It appears to me that, not only the Zionists, but the Jewish people generally in America favor this proposition. They do not favor it because they want to go there themselves, but they want to afford this opportunity to members of their race all over the world to go to Palestine as soon as they can establish a national home there.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I would like to say that I have a gentleman in my district who has just returned from Palestine, and if the committee would like to hear from him, I am sure he would appear.

Mr. MOORES. I certainly would like to hear from him. It is not such an important thing that certain individuals shall come to Congress, but it is very important that the country should act rightly on a question like this.

Mr. LINTHICUM. This gentleman who has just returned from Palestine is Rabbi Lazon, of Baltimore, and Doctor Birkhead, a rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church, would probably appear. They traveled through Palestine together.

Mr. MOORES. I move that those gentlemen be invited to appear before the committee and make statements on the subject of this resolution.

(The motion of Mr. Moores was unanimously carried.)

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection on the part of the committee, we will now hear Mr. Reed.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. EDWARD BLISS REED, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Mr. REED. Mr. Chairman, I hope to be able to present to you some facts pertaining to this matter, and I wish to say that I am here only for that purpose. Before I begin, may I have an understanding that, in closing, I shall have an opportunity to answer what may be said by the proponents of this measure?

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Chairman, on that proposition, as I understand it, in lawsuits the proponents have the opening and the closing of the argument, and on the floor of the House the friends of a measure have the opening and the closing of the debate. The opponents of a measure do not close the debate, and, therefore, I do not think it should be understood that this gentleman should have the closing of this debate.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not mean it in that sense, I am sure.

Mr. COOPER. I understood him to say that he wanted to close the debate.

Mr. MOORES. We want to hear both sides of the question.

Mr. COOPER. Of course, we want to hear both sides, but that does not answer my objection at all, and it has no relevancy whatever to it. Here is a bill, and the proponents of it have appeared in its behalf. They do not know what the objections to the measure are, and Mr. Fish has asked that the opponents be heard so that the proponents may be able to reply to their objections. Now, this gentleman who makes the objection asks the opportunity to close the proceedings.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think he intended that.

Mr. COOPER. That is what he asked.

The CHAIRMAN. He may have used the word "close," but I am sure he did not intend it in that way.

Mr. COOPER. The question is how we will close this discussion, or whether that is to be the understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. By introducing witnesses against the resolution at this time, before the other side has finished its case, the record will be more or less of a

jumble. That is my reason for wanting to have one side heard and then the other side heard.

Mr. CONNALLY. Should we not consult the convenience of the witnesses, or those who have come from a distance?

The CHAIRMAN. That question does not enter into this.

Mr. CONNALLY. Did you say it should not enter into it?

The CHAIRMAN. It does not enter into it in this particular matter.

Mr. MOORES. We have already invited a Jewish rabbi from Baltimore and an Episcopal clergyman from Baltimore to be here to-morrow, so that if this witness said he wanted to close the discussion, it was just a slip.

Mr. COOPER. It is a slip that I noticed, and I do not want it adopted as the committee's purpose.

Mr. REED. May I have 50 minutes, as the other gentlemen had all the morning yesterday?

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I rise to oppose this resolution for the following reasons—

Mr. COOPER (interposing). The gentleman will pardon me for interrupting him, but I think these questions should be settled as we go along. I understood the gentleman to say that the gentleman who has just sat down had 50 minutes.

Mr. REED. I asked for 50 minutes.

Mr. COOPER. But you said you asked for 50 minutes because the other side had had 50 minutes.

Mr. REED. They had all yesterday morning. That is what I said.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the rule of the committee to be liberal in the matter of time.

Mr. REED. I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your name in full.

Mr. REED. Edward Bliss Reed, of New Haven, Conn. I am a professor; residing in New Haven.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your present occupation?

Mr. REED. My present occupation is assistant professor of English literature at Yale University.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that position?

Mr. REED. I joined the Yale faculty as instructor in the year 1897. I began teaching in 1897.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been teaching ever since then?

Mr. REED. I have been teaching continuously since then, except for the time when I was studying abroad.

Mr. FISH. You do not represent Yale University here, do you?

Mr. REED. I do not represent Yale University. I am appearing here in my private capacity, just as all the members of the Yale faculty have a right to do. I am representing no Yale sentiment.

Mr. FISH. You are not representing any organization?

Mr. REED. No, sir. I am speaking as an American citizen, trying to do all I can to keep my country from making what I think would be a bad blunder.

Mr. MOORES. Have you been to Palestine?

Mr. REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. COLE. Have you been there since the war?

Mr. REED. Yes, sir; between the signing of the armistice and the signing of the peace treaty.

Mr. COOPER. You said you were there between the time of the signing of the armistice and the signing of the peace treaty. How long were you there?

Mr. REED. I was there three and one-half months.

This resolution is in effect an indorsement of the Balfour declaration, and, if adopted, it will be so understood. It will also be understood as an indorsement of the Zionist organization, because this resolution is recommended strongly by them. I believe that the Balfour declaration is un-American, and I believe political Zionism to be un-American in principle. I am here simply to present facts; I shall not make any argument, but I shall present simply facts, and I shall ask you to judge on the basis of the facts. In order to make my case so clear that there should be no dispute about it, I shall take every fact I present from Zionists' documents.

If I took my facts from my own personal experience you might say I was prejudiced; if I took my facts from letters from travelers in Palestine, you might say they were prejudiced, or if I took them from letters of Americans living over there, you might say they were prejudiced. I am taking every one

of my facts from Zionist documents. I have my statements here, and if there is any question about them, I have lugged down from New Haven this very heavy portfolio full of the original documents. Therefore I have everything perfectly straight here.

In the first place, may I take one moment to show the geography of the situation? You go east from the Suez Canal, and the Syrian coast line extends something like that [indicating]. Now, suppose you run 400 miles, north and south, along the coast, and the north line will be up here [indicating]. There is a natural boundary, formed by the Taurus Mountains, along the north. This whole country, extending here over 400 miles, for centuries has been recognized as Syria. The lower part of this country, extending 170 miles north and south, is called Palestine, and the rest of this country is now called Syria.

Mr. COLE. How wide a country is Palestine?

Mr. REED. It is from 75 to 100 miles in width, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Syrian Desert.

Mr. COLE. What is its width from the seacoast to the eastern boundary?

Mr. REED. It is from 75 to 100 miles from the seacoast to the Syrian Desert. This country is inhabited by a race of people that are generally called Arabs. I shall not take up your time with a discussion of that term; but let me say that they are not Arabs. It is customary to speak of the people in Palestine as "Arabs," and some of them are Bedouins, but the Bedouins are only a small part of that population. These people were faithful to the cause of the Allies, and the way in which the Turks and Germans robbed them, starved them, and oppressed them was terrible. They claim that their country was stripped and devastated by the Turks and Germans, and there can be no doubt about that. They did not know that England and France had made a secret treaty, and that the secret treaty involved the partition of this Syrian country—170 miles of it, north and south—Palestine, separated from the northern part of it, Syria. According to that treaty they have now partitioned Syria, and it is done by a very peculiar line like this [indicating]. The north line runs like this [indicating], and extends in this way down through the Sea of Galilee; then it goes east toward the desert.

One side of this line of partition they said was to be English and the other side French. On one side of the line they have Egyptian coinage and on the other side French coinage; and on one side they have the English language and on the other side the French language. They have one language here [indicating], and another language there [indicating]; one coinage here [indicating], and another coinage there [indicating]; one set of laws here, and another set there. You can well imagine what the people of that country feel about it. This partition of Syria is a very unfortunate thing. The French now have 29,000 troops holding Syria, and in Palestine, a country about the size of Vermont, of 10,000 square miles, they have now 7,000 English troops, and they are sending in black and tans. It is a most unfortunate thing to partition a country that way. It is exactly like running an arbitrary boundary line through the center of the State of Maryland. The Zionist Organization in its publications has objected to one thing: That the line has not been drawn far enough north for them to get all the water they want for the irrigation of Palestine lands. It is purely an arbitrary line, which can not be sustained upon any historical grounds. Upon historical grounds it must be obliterated some day.

In the land of Palestine before the war there were Jewish colonies. Mr. Lipsky, I think, gave the number as about 70 at present; but before the war there were not so many.

There were about 50 of those Jewish colonies before the war, comprising some 12,000 souls. They were not, therefore, a decisive factor in a population of 700,000 people. They employed to a very large extent, to a surprisingly large extent, native labor. In fact, I might say that without this native labor it is extremely problematical whether some of those colonies could have been established. The colonies were never competitive colonies; and they had very generous support from Zionists, and they deserved it. For instance, the present Lord Rothschild contributed about £120,000 to one of the colonies where they make very excellent wines. They have good streets and roads, and they were a blessing to the country. Nobody would deny that at all. They have opened up many villages, and what they have done has been a good thing for Palestine. More than that, the Zionists had very good schools, and they had good hospitals. There was no outcry whatever against them, and even in the days of the ascend-



ancy of the unspeakable Turk not more than 500 troops were needed there to preserve order. In those days they did not have airplanes and they did not have field artillery. They had none of that, for there was no trouble in the country.

Now, suddenly there appears the Balfour declaration, which struck those people like a bolt from the blue. President Wilson had promised all people in subjection to Turkish rule an "absolutely unmolested opportunity for autonomous development." This "unmolested opportunity for autonomous development" is promised in the twelfth of the fourteen points; and if that phrase means anything at all, it means that people in a country such as Palestine should have an unmolested chance to develop themselves. They really believed that opportunity would be theirs; they believed that this was true; and then suddenly came the Balfour declaration.

I wish now to speak on just one point of that declaration, which you are asked to indorse. I want to show you how truly un-American the Balfour declaration is, and what a tremendous check you are signing if you indorse it. If you will allow me, I shall take everything I say from Zionist sources.

Mr. COLE. Would this proposed development of Palestine by the Jews come within the meaning of President Wilson's twelfth point?

Mr. REED. I wish to show what that involves, and I shall come to that in a moment. You will see that in this resolution you are asked to indorse the Balfour declaration, and I wish now to show you how that declaration was made. Let me read this short statement about the Balfour declaration, showing how it originated, because I think it is well to know what it is that you are asked to indorse. The president of the Zionist organization is Dr. Weizmann. I take this statement from "A Guide to Zionism," published by the Zionist Organization of America, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York City, 1920, pages 85-86:

"Weizmann is a Russian Jew, a British subject, who became professor of chemistry at the University of Manchester. During the war he perfected a certain chemical that was essential to Britain in the making of munitions \* \* \*"

Mr. COOPER. Have you given the name of the Zionist document from which you are reading?

Mr. REED. Yes, sir; I have given it.

Mr. COOPER. The title of the document is stated in your manuscript?

Mr. REED. Yes, sir; everything is stated here, including the pages from which it is taken.

Mr. COOPER. What I want is the date of the publication.

Mr. REED. It is 1920. Everything is stated here, including the page. This article continues:

"Mr. Arthur James Balfour liked him. And the war came. And Chaim Weizmann served Britain—and served Israel—with his chemistry. Weizmann asked no reward for his chemical discovery. But the reward came on November 2, 1917."

Mr. COOPER. This was in 1917?

Mr. REED. Yes, sir; November 2, 1917. Now, may I comment on this? "This declaration was sent from the foreign office to Lord Rothschild as representative of the English Zionist organization."

Mr. COOPER. May I suggest, since you are making a comment upon it, that those were the very dark days of the war, when he made that promise.

Mr. REED. Yes, sir; if I may go on with the statement—

"Arthur James Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote his famous letter to Lord Walter Rothschild, embodying the following declaration:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

"This declaration was sent from the foreign office to Lord Walter Rothschild as representative of the English Zionist organization. It came, perhaps, as a surprise to large sections of the Jewish people and notably to those who had either opposed or not interested themselves in Zionism.

"But to those who were active in Zionist circles the declaration was no surprise. Among the leaders it had been expected for many months. The wording of it came from the British foreign office, but the text had been revised in the Zionist offices in America as well as in England. The British

declaration was made in the form in which the Zionists desired it, and the last clauses were added in order to appease a certain section of timid anti-Zionist opinion."

Now, here is a country of 700,000 people, and the Zionists compose just about one-tenth of the country, and here is a declaration that is going to change absolutely the whole status of the people of that country. Have they one word to say about it? Are they consulted about it in any way? Are they asked about it, or do they know anything about it? They did not even know it was coming, or from where it was coming. Where does it come from? It comes from the Zionist offices in America as well as in England.

Mr. SMITH. What are the other 90 per cent of the population of that country?

Mr. REED. I think the best figures I can give, and, indeed, the only figures are those given by Sir Herbert Samuel. They go back to August 30, 1921. The figures given at that time by Sir Herbert Samuel are: Sixty-four thousand Christians, 76,000 Jews, and 560,000 Mohammedans. Mr. Lipsky has raised those figures, for he says there are 80,000 Jews. Sir Herbert Samuel is practically the dictator of Palestine, and it has been said that he is an ardent Zionist.

Now, according to this statement, the wording of the declaration came from the British foreign office, but the text was revised in Zionist offices in America as well as in England.

This next statement I am about to read is from Dr. Weizmann's Reply to his Critics, an address delivered at the Cleveland convention on Wednesday afternoon during the fifth session, printed in the New Palestine, published weekly by the Zionist Organization of America, New York, June 17, 1921, page 5:

"Perhaps you will let me get rid of a legend, one of the hundreds of legends. It is said that the Balfour declaration was framed here, was made here, and the text of it was really drafted here. In that statement there is only this amount of truth, that after the formula had been drafted in London a modification was suggested in one clause by our American friends and was accepted. I do not underrate the value of the American suggestion. It did not affect the essence of the declaration, and it was helpful so far as it went. That is all there is in it. Except for this one amendment, the declaration was framed in London. It was drafted by Lord Milner and his secretary, and the original text of the Balfour declaration, as it is, is at present in the archives of the British Government."

That is a little different version—Lord Milner drafted it.

Now, I come to another strange thing in connection with the Balfour declaration, which also tends to show that the document really came from the Zionist organization, and that the text was accepted or approved by the British Government. This statement is taken from The New Palestine, New York, September 9, 1921:

"The Zionist executive proposed to the British Government a draft of the Balfour declaration, which the executive submitted to Sir Mark Sykes, Baron Rothschild, and President Wilson. All of them approved of the statement. On July 18, Lord Rothschild forwarded it to Mr. Balfour. The Cabinet submitted their own version to representatives of both sides with a covering letter, in which was stated that 'in view of the divergence of opinion expressed on the subject by the Jews themselves, they would like to receive in writing the views of representative Jewish leaders, both Zionist and non-Zionists.' The letter was sent to the following gentlemen: Sir Stuart M. Samuel, Mr. Leonard M. Cohen, Mr. C. G. Montefiore, Sir Philip Magnus, Dr. Hertz, Mr. N. Sokolow, and Dr. Weizmann.

"To strengthen the hands of the friends of Zionism in the Government, it was thought advisable to obtain support from America. Accordingly, Mr. Justice Brandeis approached President Wilson. The latter sent a personal message to the British Government, intimating his agreement with the ideas of the pro-Zionist pronouncement. Finally, on November 2, 1917, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, the then foreign secretary, sent to Lord Walter Rothschild the now famous Balfour declaration."

One thing is certain, it was submitted to President Wilson through Justice Brandeis, and it was submitted to the Zionist organization in New York. However, one other thing is certain, it was not submitted to the people of the country that it affects. If you believe that the people of that country had any right at all in their own country, or were entitled to any consideration at all in its disposition, it is certain that you can have nothing to do with Mr. Fish's resolution.

I wish to say one other thing in that connection. I want to show you that there is a little inaccuracy in this. It is hard to argue this case, because there are so many inaccuracies in the Zionist statements. I have read to you a statement from the official Zionist publication, in which it was said that the declaration was made "in the form in which the Zionists desired it." Now comes something very interesting. This is taken from the translator's introduction to Ten Essays on Zionism and Judaism, by Achad Ha-Am, translated from the Hebrew by Leon Simon, London, George Rutledge & Sons (Ltd.), 1922, pp. 15 and 16:

"All the details of the diplomatic conversations in London which led to the declaration have not yet been made public; but the time has come to reveal one 'secret.'"

I can assure you that all the details have not yet been made public, and I am certain you do not wish to commit this country to an agreement, all of the details of which have not been made public. This statement continues:

"All the details of the diplomatic conversations in London which led to the declaration have not yet been made public, but the time has come to reveal one 'secret,' because knowledge of it will make it easier to understand the true meaning of the declaration.

"To facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people"—that is the text of the promise given to us by the British Government. But that is not the text suggested to the Government by the Zionist spokesmen. They wished it to read: 'The reconstitution of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people'; but when the happy day arrived on which the declaration was signed and sealed by the Government it was found to contain the first formula and not the second. That is to say, the allusion to the fact that we were about to rebuild our old national home was dropped, and at the same time the words 'constitution of Palestine as the national home,' were replaced by 'Establishment of a national home in Palestine \* \* \*'

"Had the British Government accepted the version suggested to it—that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people—its promise might have been interpreted as meaning that Palestine, inhabited as it now is, was restored to the Jewish people on the ground of its historic right; that the Jewish people was to rebuild its waste places and was destined to rule over it and to manage all its affairs in its own way, without regard to the consent or nonconsent of its present inhabitants."

There is one very interesting thing there, the Zionists could not force the British Government to adopt all of the Zionist declaration, but they went to work and secured it in the mandate. I shall not have time to discuss the mandate. The last sentence in this statement reads:

"That the Jewish people was destined to rule over it and manage all its affairs in its own way, without regard to the consent or nonconsent of its present inhabitants."

That is exactly what they are trying to do, without any regard to the right of the people of that country to any sort of self-determination.

There is another most interesting statement, and it is taken from the New Palestine, September 9, 1921, page 12:

"Mr. Sokolow and Dr. Weizmann accepted the draft, though they would have preferred 'reconstitution of Palestine as the national home' to 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home,' and regarded the provisos as unnecessary, because self-evident."

They are not self-evident. If we take the Balfour declaration we can not find out what it means. If you ask, What is "a national home," Mr. Balfour will not tell you. There is a delegation from Palestine in London, and they have been there for five months. The head of the delegation said the other day that they had tried to find out at the Colonial Office what "national home" meant, but they could not find out. When Mr. Balfour was over here he was interviewed on the subject. A Palestine Christian tried to see him, but he would not see her until he learned that she was a journalist. When she said she was a journalist he consented to see her.

Mr. COOPER. You say that the people of Palestine were not consulted. Upon the face of it the proposition was to give them their rights, but they were not consulted as to whether they would have them or not. Now, how does that differ in principle from what was done by England, by the King and the rest of them, in the open, expressed written promise to Egypt, that if Egypt would use her troops to help the Allied cause Egypt should be free. The Egyptians were not consulted at all; and, not only that, but when the Egyptians came

up to Versailles the delegates were not permitted to be heard at all. Yet England has observed her promise, and they have a king now in Egypt for the first time since Cleopatra. The Egyptians were promised liberty, but they were not consulted. They were not consulted, but they were granted liberty. According to the Balfour declaration, certain promises are made in regard to Palestine, but they were not consulted. They were granted certain things without having been consulted.

Mr. REED. What I was going to say is not on that point at all. I was discussing what was meant by "a national home," and, as I said, Mr. Balfour would not state what it meant. He was asked what "national home" meant, but he would not say. When this Palestine Christian asked him what he understood by the words "a Jewish home in Palestine," he answered sharply, "Everything, but not pogroms," and then he continued. "Tell your fanatic patriots that they bring shame upon Islam and upon civilization." That statement is contained in the New Palestine, official organ of the Zionist organization of America, New York, November 18, 1921, page 10.

Mr. LIPSKY. That has been denied.

Mr. REED. Then I withdraw it; but that does not alter the fact that Mr. Balfour has not defined "a national home." I will tell you what the Zionists think "a national home" is, and I give you their own statements. Mr. Fish has the same word in his resolution, "homeland." Last year one of the greatest living Zionists, Prof. Einstein, came here, and Mr. Max Nordau, who has been called the grand old man of Zionism, was also invited to come. Mr. Max Nordau, in the Maccabean, which was published monthly by the Zionist organization of America, on page 82 of the number for March, 1920, said:

"The formula 'a national home' has been subject to manifold and widely divergent interpretations. I read it as meaning an autonomous Jewish State, and so does every political Zionist."

They are now having a great Keren Ha-Yesod drive in New York, and I think that is one of the reasons for pushing this resolution. Here is a statement from the Keren Ha-Yesod Book, London, Leonard Parsons (Ltd.), 1921, page 11:

"This is the purpose of the Keren Ha-Yesod, to make every Jew throughout the world realize that the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine can only be rebuilt if he shares in the national burden and to collect his share of the national tax."

Here is another statement from the same book, page 14:

"The task confronting us is much more complex and exacting than the problems with which the ordinarily constituted state has usually to deal; it is the creation of a state."

Now, gentlemen, that is what they are trying to do—to create a state—and that is what the Zionists mean by "a national home."

I shall go a step further and read you what Doctor Weizmann said in an interview. This statement appears on pages 99-100 in A Guide to Zionism:

"In an interview Doctor Weizmann gave to the press after the appearance of the Zionist delegation before the 'council of ten,' he stated: 'We have obtained full recognition of the historic title of the Jewish people in Palestine and of the Jewish right to constitute a national home there.'"

"The claims of the Zionist delegates, as they are briefly communicated in the official communication to the London Zionist Conference, contain everything that may now be demanded—full recognition of our historic claims in Palestine; the assurance of an independent Jewish Commonwealth as soon as the Jews in Palestine will constitute a majority of the population and will be able to dispense with their mandatory; the creation of such conditions under the trusteeship of England as will fulfill the desire of Jewish development in Palestine as soon as possible; the recognition, as one of the principal conditions, of a Jewish council, which is to have from the beginning a voice in the administration of the country and to receive all necessary concessions to further the development of Jewish immigration on a large scale."

These claims were brought before the Peace Conference; there can be no doubt about that at all. There can be no doubt that political Zionism means the creation of a Zionist State in a country in which Zionists are outnumbered nearly ten to one.

Mr. KENNEDY. If they should have a majority, they would have a right to do that, would they not?

Mr. REED. That depends on how they get their majority. Why did they say at the peace conference "a Jewish Commonwealth," and why did they not say that in the Balfour declaration?

I have a most interesting statement on that subject; it is taken from *Zionism, Its Ideals and Practical Hopes*, by the Right Hon. Herbert Samuel, published by the Zionist Organization, London. This is a speech delivered by Sir Herbert Samuel in London on Sunday, November 2, 1919. Sir Herbert Samuel, as I have said, is the dictator of Palestine. The statement reads, page 2:

"The Emir Faisal was under the impression that his opinions were invited as to the attitude that he would take up toward the immediate establishment of a complete Jewish State in Palestine. That, however, we all fully recognize is an impracticable proposal. No responsible Zionist leader has suggested it. The immediate establishment of a complete and purely Jewish State in Palestine would mean placing a majority under the rule of a minority; it would therefore be contrary to the first principles of democracy, and would undoubtedly be disapproved by the public opinion of the whole world. The policy propounded before the peace conference, to which the Zionist leaders unshakably adhere, is the promotion to the fullest degree that the conditions of the country allow of Jewish immigration, of Jewish land settlement, the concession to Jewish authorities of many of the great public works of which the country stands so greatly in need, the active promotion of Jewish cultural development, and the fullest measure of local self-government, in order that with the minimum of delay the country may become a purely self-governing commonwealth under the auspices of an established Jewish majority."

Mr. Samuel's point is this: That it would shock the conscience of the world if they were to set up a Zionist State there to-day, but that it would not shock the conscience of the world if you ordered British troops in there, if you granted concessions to the Zionists, and if Zionist immigration were promoted. Do you believe in the control of immigration to America by the Americans? The proposition here is that if you can not take from the Palestinians their country all at once, you can take it from them gradually. You must not shock the conscience of the world by taking it all at once. Now, how long will it take to do it; or how long will it take to make such a State? Dr. Weizmann said 10 years, and in that connection I read from a letter of Israel Cohen, dated London, February 4, 1920, and published in the *Maccabean*, March, 1920, as follows:

"If there is any specific point in regard to which their views (Nordau's and Weizmann's) do not coincide, it is perhaps in regard to the rate at which the Jewish national home will develop into a Jewish State. Even Dr. Weizmann now speaks of this as a possibility within 10 years, and he has been able to make his calculations with the aid of experts on the spot and after paying full consideration to all the manifold factors involved."

In other words, Doctor Weizmann says, or he said in 1920, that in 10 years Zionists could turn Palestine into a Jewish State. Do you think that the United States has not the right to control immigration into the United States—that is, to say how many immigrants shall come in and where they shall come from? Have the people of Palestine no right to control immigration? Do you mean to say that if immigration should come, subsidized by an organization of this kind, with the avowed purpose of establishing a majority so as to rule the country, they can not say, "No"? These people have been pillaged by the Turks and Germans; they have been reduced to poverty, and should we now say that they shall be kept down and deprived of their rights in their country in order to build up this Jewish State? I do not think that is the way to build a State.

Here is a very interesting statement from *Zionist Policy*, an address by Doctor Weizmann, delivered on Sunday, November 21, 1919, and published by the English Zionist Federation, London, pages 17-18:

"Suppose were were to force the pace, or supposing that by some means or ways—Mr. Zangwill, for example, made a speech—and we convinced the English statesmen that we had to begin at once, and supposing that there was an outbreak, and supposing that to put down the rising the British had 5,000 casualties, it would start by shedding blood. One has to be careful not to press the screw too tight. It is slow; it is disagreeable."

How do you think the people of that land feel when they hear the president of the International Zionist Organization warning his followers not to press the screw too tight? It does not conduce to the happiness of those people.

Mr. COOPER. Does that one excerpt from the address, twenty or thirty words, give a fair impression of the whole tenor of Doctor Weizmann's discourse? It does not accord with what he just said, that is, if you put the sinister interpretation on those twenty words.

Mr. REED. Doctor Weizmann is quite an opportunist and I can show you where he contradicts himself. Now, you have said, and I should like to take up your point, that the Palestinians are rather adequately protected by that little clause, that nothing shall be done which "may prejudice the civil or religious rights of non-Jewish communities." It has been intimated by Zionist leaders that those clauses were unnecessary; I think they are very necessary, even though the Zionist organization has put forward official utterances that simply throw that clause in the wastebasket. That is a strong statement, but let me prove it. One of the greatest Zionist authorities is Tolkowsky, a great agricultural expert. You will find his pamphlets abroad, in England, in Germany, in Italy; they are quoted again and again.

Tolkowsky makes several suggestions to the Zionists after the Balfour declaration had been made, with that little clause in it stating that nothing shall be done to interfere with the civil rights of the non-Jewish people of Palestine. This is a most astounding document. This is what he proposes. This is in the Maccabean and also in the English Zionist Review. Strange to say, no Zionist ever printed a word of protest. It is good Zionist doctrine.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you that?

Mr. REED. Everything is here; I have it here.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not question it. If the committee wants to discuss it we will know where to find it.

Mr. REED. You want me to be accurate.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. REED. Mr. Tolkowsky writes: "A considerable portion of the soil of Palestine consists of Crown lands"—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Crown lands?

Mr. REED. Turkish Crown lands. A great many of those lands were stolen from the peasants. General Boles, Allenby's chief of staff, said he would have an investigation to see what lands the Turkish Government had seized and they would be restored. Some of the Crown lands were undoubtedly stolen from the peasants.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. REED (reading). "A considerable portion of the soil of Palestine consists of Crown lands and waste and uncultivated lands; of these we must obtain possession at once both to settle our men and to produce foodstuffs."

If they are going to divide these Crown lands and waste lands, why should not nine-tenths of the population have a little right to them? It is exactly as if you open up Oklahoma and say only the Congregationalists of New England may have a chance at those lands. Then comes a very strange thing:

"\* \* \* But as to lands other than those owned by the now-existing colonists I would lay down as essential requirements:

"1. That the mandatory power should grant the Jewish national fund a right of preemption on any lands, Jewish-owned or not Jewish owned, that may be offered for sale."

If Mr. Tolkowsky, one of the best Zionist authorities, could have his way, it would be perfectly impossible for a Christian in Jerusalem to sell his property across the Jordan to a Moslem. Why? Because the mandatory power could grant the Jewish national fund the "right of preemption on any lands, Jewish owned or not Jewish owned." Does not that interfere with the right of the people? It puts forward a suggestion that you could not even sell your property. That is from one of the most prominent Zionists in Palestine. That is nothing? Should not a man have the right to sell his property? When it gets into the hands of the Jewish national fund it means it never can depart from Jewish ownership; that it can be leased only to Jews or Zionists and the Jewish labor union says nobody shall work on it except Jews or Zionists. If they deemed all the land in Palestine it would be impossible for anybody except Jews or Zionists to own or lease land.

The CHAIRMAN. Repeat that, please.

Mr. REED. It is so extraordinary I do not think your committee can grasp it. I do not mean to make a reflection on your committee.

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. REED. The whole thing is so perfectly extraordinary and so un-American you can not grasp the proposition that is put forward after the Balfour declaration had been made. Let me read it again:

"That the mandatory power should grant the Jewish national fund a right of preemption on any lands, Jewish owned or not Jewish owned, that may be offered for sale."

The CHAIRMAN. The effect of that is this, that no one could buy this land except the Jewish organization.

Mr. REED. Yes, sir, quite right; that is the proposition.

Mr. TEMPLE. Not literally. They were granted the right. They would have the right to refuse as well as to buy it.

Mr. REED. The Zionist organization might allow a man to sell his land if he wanted to. But, on the other hand, they had an absolute right of preemption on any land offered for sale.

Mr. COOPER. The object of the Balfour declaration was to establish a Jewish home.

Mr. REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. If you should permit—to put an extreme case—if you should permit Turks to buy that land, very many Jews would not get hold of it and you would have great difficulty in establishing a Jewish home. The right of preemption, as Doctor Temple has well pointed out, would permit them to accept or reject. That suggestion was simply in order to carry out the very object of the Balfour resolution to make it a Jewish home, and if the Jews did not want to buy they need not, but they would have the first right to buy.

Mr. REED. My answer to that is that if the Balfour declaration involves any such violation of the rights of the country as that, the Balfour declaration ought not to be observed. Is it not one of the civil rights of a man that he can sell his land to whom he chooses?

Mr. FISH. As I understand it, you are referring to a statement made by some individual not representing any organization. Because a prominent journalist has advanced a certain statement, which has never been approved by any organization, you can not blame the Zionists; you might bring up thousands of other such statements ad infinitum.

Mr. REED. I accept your statement and I am very glad you noticed it, though Mr. Tolkowsky is a Zionist authority. I want in my own argument to put the weakest points first. I am coming to exactly your point. If anybody proposed that in a America, in a little town of 10,000, he would be swept out of office.

The CHAIRMAN. This right of preemption has this effect, as I understand it: The owner of the property can sell, provided he sells to this Jewish organization; otherwise he can not sell the property at all.

Mr. CONNALLY. No.

Mr. TEMPLE. That is not what it means. The Zionists would have the first right to buy. If they do not exercise that right, that does not interfere with his selling to somebody else.

Mr. COOPER. Exactly as I understand it.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. What you are deducing from this is that the Zionist is to be given the option over the Christian or the Syrian, or anybody else, to buy land.

Mr. REED. Certainly.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. That is the point you make.

Mr. REED. It is the point that it is a denial of the civil rights of the people, as it is expressed in the Balfour declaration. Mr. Churchill addresses the Palestinians and says: "You have the Balfour declaration."

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. REED. May I bring out my next point, as follows:

"2. That all such lands be bought by the Jewish national fund as the inalienable property of the Jewish people, never to be sold, but only to be given in hereditary lease."

"3. That these lands be leased only to Jews and only to such Jews as have passed as agricultural laborers through the training farms of the national fund, or to the children of colonists already settled in the country \* \* \*."

The effect of such a policy will be:

"1. To make available for the purpose of settlement by Jews all lands that may be offered for sale in the future apart from Crown lands and waste and unoccupied lands, which should be turned over to the national fund right away." (From the Maccabean, January, 1920, pp. 19, 20, and 22, article entitled "Palestine under Jewish Ownership," by S. Tolkowsky.)

Mr. Tolkowsky is one of the great Zionist agricultural authorities. I can quote pamphlets of his.

The CHAIRMAN. That is his statement?

Mr. REED. Yes; and it appeared in the official British Zionist paper, as well as in the American, and no Zionist uttered one single word of protest. They accepted it as very good doctrine.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with your statement.

Mr. REED. Let me answer Mr. Fish and come up to the testimony of those who are Zionist officials. If asked to name 10 of the greatest Zionists I would name Jabotinsky as one and, of course, Doctor Weizmann, president of the Zionists, and the world executive—Jabotinsky is one of the world executives. This is a very interesting suggestion that he puts forward. He is a responsible man, an official, and a big man. He wrote a letter in the London Times March 14, 1921, in which he put forward this plan:

"The Jews alone should have the right of military service in Palestine. They should be enlisted as part of the British army of occupation. They would do it more cheaply. The English would save £200,000 a year." (Digest, from the Zionist Biweekly Palestine, of a letter by Jabotinsky in the London Times, Mar. 14, 1921.)

This same information is given in the American Zionist official organ, the New Palestine, for August 5, 1921:

"Under date of July 29 the Jewish telegraph agency report Dr. Ch. Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, demanded the immediate formation of a Jewish legion for Palestine in his address before the cabinet ministers on Tuesday last \* \* \*.

"Lloyd-George promised that the proposition of the Jewish legion, as well as other suggestions, would receive serious and immediate consideration \* \* \*. The British Colonial Office views with favor the immediate establishment of a Jewish legion in Palestine. The legion is to consist of five battalions of 1,000 each. The question of a strictly Jewish military force in Palestine has been a much-debated subject and now seems settled. Some months ago the British Government announced its intention of recruiting a mixed Arab-Jewish unit, and the proposition evoked much opposition on the part of the Zionists and was finally withdrawn."

Mr. COCKRAN. What word preceded "recruited"?

Mr. REED. The point is, Mr. Cockran, there is a large expenditure for keeping these people down. They are unhappy, discontented.

Mr. COCKRAN. Which people?

Mr. REED. The Palestinians.

Mr. COCKRAN. The Syrians?

Mr. REED. The non-Zionist population of Palestine. They are afraid, as we would be if we should hear such things openly proclaimed. Mr. Jabotinsky is a very typical Zionist. The proposition is that the Zionists should have battalions, forces composed of Jews enlisted as a part of the British army of occupation. The Jews alone should have the right of military service in Palestine—none but Jews; and why? They would do it more cheaply; the English would save £200,000 a year.

If the mayor of a little town in my State, a town of 10,000 people, should post up in his office that no Jews would be allowed to join the police force, he would be swept out of office and with right. These troops are simply police; they are not to march against Allenby or the Turks, say, but to serve as a police force; and Mr. Jabotinsky, over his own signature in a letter to the London Times, asks that no one except Jews in Palestine be allowed to enlist in the army, and tells the English that they would save £200,000 a year by this.

An elementary right of a citizen is the right to bear arms. Think of the discrimination. Is that in accordance with the Balfour declaration? Is military service included in the civil rights? Suppose you were to say that no Catholic or Protestant could go into the Regular Army, into the militia. In fact, this whole proposal is most extraordinary. It is so extraordinary that you can not grasp it. You can not understand it; it is so typically un-American. Mr. Fish, I need not say that of course Doctor Weizmann is thoroughly in sympathy with that as head of the Zionists.

Mr. COCKRAN. Was that presented by any representative body?

Mr. REED. Yes, sir; by one of the World Zionist committee. It shows their spirit.

Mr. COCKRAN. It shows the spirit of that particular man.

Mr. REED. He is one of their heroes. He is a typical Zionist and one of the first 10. May I ask Mr. Lipsky? You raised the question of Doctor Weizmann. May I repeat:



"Under date of July 29, the Jewish Telegraph Agency reports Dr. Charles Weizmann, president of the World Zionist organization, demanded the immediate formation of a Jewish legion for Palestine." In his address before the cabinet ministers on Tuesday last, Doctor Weizmann addresses the cabinet ministers; tells what he wants for the Zionist commission to be able to run the country; appoints various officers for his various departments; and non-Jewish Palestinians say, "Where do we come in?" To continue the quotation:

"Lloyd-George promised that the proposition of the Jewish legion, as well as other suggestions, would receive serious and immediate consideration. The British colonial office views with favor the immediate establishment of a Jewish legion in Palestine. The legion is to consist of five battalions of 1,000 each. The question of a strictly Jewish military force in Palestine has been a much-debated subject and now seems settled."

This perhaps answers your question:

"Some months ago the British Government announced its intention of recruiting a mixed Arab-Jewish unit, and the proposition evoked much opposition on the part of the Zionists and was finally withdrawn."

The proposition was withdrawn. I think, perhaps, that answers your question, Mr. Lipsky.

Mr. LIPSKY. That is a newspaper report.

Mr. REED. It is from your own official organ, the New Palestine. I am quoting everything from Zionist sources. If I may quote my last one, I have, perhaps, the worst of all. I have come down to the mandate. If we pass this resolution it is a pressure on England to hurry up the mandate. The mandate is much worse than this. This excerpt is written by Mr. H. Sacher. Everything I quote is from Zionists. He is very high in Zionist circles and when Zionists drafted the mandate he was one of the men they submitted it to. He is high enough in Zionist circles to be consulted when they are going to write a constitution about which the non-Jewish Palestinians can not have a word to say. We believe in taxation with representation, but the whole Palestinian constitution is drafted with the aid and consent of the Zionists. I am just speaking of this one point.

Mr. LINTHICUM. We did not ratify the treaty. What have we to do with the mandate?

Mr. REED. This resolution will be used as America's approval, as a powerful weapon abroad to say that America believes in this proposition. Mr. Sokolow made a very delightful speech before the Bay State Congress. I once lived in Massachusetts, and I was interested to read it. Mr. Sokolow said that at the time of the San Remo conference, when Zionists were anxious to see that the conference should ratify the Balfour declaration, Mr. Balfour said he received hundreds of telegrams about it; and Mr. Balfour said he might have thought those telegrams were inspired. But when he got a cable from the Legislature of Massachusetts saying that Massachusetts approved the Zionist proposition he knew there could not be any Zionist influence in that cable and that was one of the reasons the Balfour declaration was accepted by the Powers.

Mr. FISH. How long ago was this? Of recent date?

Mr. REED. Some time ago. May I go to my next point?

Mr. COOPER. Just when was it?

Mr. REED. I can tell you that. It is in April, 1920. I attended ratification meeting of the Zionists in April, 1920. Now, I come to my most conclusive point and will base my argument on it. It is written by Mr. Sacher. It has never been denied. It is in the Atlantic Monthly of July, 1919, pages 115-125. There was no objection raised to it. Let me quote from it:

"What do the Jews want in Palestine? What do they intend?" In the proposals laid before the Peace Conference by the Zionist organization, the following demands are submitted:

"4. That Palestine shall be placed under such political, administrative, and economical conditions as will secure the establishment there of the Jewish national home, and ultimately render possible the creation of an autonomous commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.

"5. For these purposes the mandatory power is to promote Jewish immigration and close settlement on the land; to accept the cooperation of a council, representing the Jews of Palestine and the world, and to give this council (which is to be precluded from making a private profit) priority in any con-

cession for public works or for the development of the natural resources of Palestine."

That is such a monopoly that you can scarcely grasp it unless you have been in Palestine. So, Doctor Weizmann and Sokolow, representing international Zionism went before the Peace Conference and asked that in any government contracts the Zionist should have the first choice. Palestine needs much work. They have got to put in water systems, railroad bridges, school houses, lights, etc., and they want the work kept for the Zionists. The Zionists absolutely asked the Peace Conference to give them priority in every single government contract.

Mr. COOPER. Will you please read those words again: "Precluded from making a profit"?

Mr. REED. The money is to go to bringing in more immigrants or for establishing the Zionist State.

"For these purposes the mandatory power is to promote Jewish immigration and close settlement on the land; to accept the cooperation of a council, representing the Jews of Palestine and the world, and to give this council (which is to be precluded from making a private profit) priority in any concession for public works or the development of the natural resources of Palestine."

I do not know where you could have a greater monopoly than that.

Mr. COCKRAN. A monopoly is for profit. This seems to exclude profit.

Mr. REED. It does, because all the money is to go back—

Mr. COOPER (interposing). To carry out the object of the Balfour resolution, which is to make it a home for immigrants to come in there.

Mr. REED. My point is, Mr. Cockran, that this is the way it will work: There are many educated Palestinians, who have been abroad and can talk much better than I can, and the Zionists come in with this proposition that I put before you, that non-Zionists are not qualified or capable as are all the Zionists. No; the Zionists have to have the first chance. If you tried that in America—no organization in America would dare put that forward.

Mr. COCKRAN. The object in America would be private profit.

Mr. REED. It does not make any difference.

Mr. COCKRAN. It makes a very great difference. If you are acting for a public purpose, you can not have too much profit. But if it is for private purposes, it is otherwise.

Mr. REED. I call that a complete monopoly, to give the whole thing into the hands of the Zionists, and they are to use that money to bring in more immigrants to swamp those people.

Mr. COCKRAN. Any public enterprise is a monopoly, and this simply, as I understand it, is for the prosecution of a public work to develop the purposes of this scheme.

Mr. REED. Yes, sir; if that is the purpose, that means—

Mr. COCKRAN (interposing). There is no doubt that it is the purpose, is there? Is there any doubt that that is the purpose? There is no doubt that there is not any pretense of or desire to make a profit.

Mr. REED. That is in there. The profits of the Zionist labor are to be used to build a Zionist state. This commends itself to the "moderates." It is a very moderate Zionist proposition.

"Such in brief outline are the proposals which the Zionist leaders are making to the Peace Conference, and which have already commended themselves to most of the peace delegations by their moderation and good sense." (From "The Jewish Palestine," by H. Sacher, *The Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1919, pp. 123-124.)

This quotation is from *The New Palestine*, June 17, 1921, page 15, and concerns the English Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Churchill.

"The question of the mandates will soon be solved, Mr. Churchill states. Zionism would preclude for the present the possibility of applying the principles of self-determination to the population of Palestine.

"The granting of self-governing institutions would"—he is reported to have said—"lead to the suspension of Jewish immigration into Palestine; but England can not suspend immigration; that would be contrary to our promises. The Arabs' fears regarding immigration are illusory."

In other words, if we give non-Jewish Palestinians any self-determination, they will not have that immigration, for it does not give those people the chance for a fair economic struggle. It is not a fair fight at all. I want to

show you how the British themselves regard this. This is my last quotation. Mr. Churchill spoke before the House of Commons:

"The only cause of unrest in Palestine arose from the Zionist movement and the British promises in regard to it."

"The only cause of unrest"—if there was not unrest, they would not spend twelve and a half million dollars in putting 7,000 British troops where the Turks had 500.

"The only cause of unrest in Palestine arose from the Zionist movement, and the British promises in regard to it. But for that fact, the British garrison might have been considerably reduced. The difficulty about the possibility of the national home for the Jews in Palestine was that it conflicted with Great Britain's regular policy of consulting the wishes of the people in the territory under her mandate and of giving them representative institutions as soon as they are fitted for them."

(The New Palestine, June 17, 1921, page 15 )

Mr. COCKRAN. I think that is excellent policy and I think it is our American policy. I do not know what the wishes of the people of the country are, but they should be heard, and I think as soon as they were fitted for it they should be given representative institutions.

Mr. REED. Mr. Churchill says "We can not do it." They are doing it in Ireland, in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in India, and yet they say, for this one strip of land we have made the Balfour declaration, and that precludes giving you a voice in your government; that precludes us from hearing your wishes. That is why I think this Balfour declaration is very un-American and that is why I think we want to go very slowly before we underwrite it.

There has been an immense change in England in regard to this subject. During the war England had the problems of Ireland, Egypt, India. Now the change of feeling in regard to Zionism is extraordinary. Lord Northcliffe is an example. A short time ago it was as hard to get anti-Zionist articles in his papers as in certain New York papers. He went to Palestine and saw representative people and was so shocked that he completely reversed his attitude. That moment he gained the enmity of that, the great powerful Zionist organization. What gain could he have from the help of 630,000 non-Jewish Palestinians. He changed his attitude for no gain at all. He changed it because he saw it was the only thing to do. There is great trouble over the Balfour declaration. Why in the world should we depart from our American principle of giving to people of a country the right to be heard, the right to a representative government? Why should we do this? Because the Zionist organization, which, Mr. Lipsky said, has a membership of 45,000 and because hundreds of thousands of Jews have indorsed it by resolution? Why should we do this to that country?

Mr. COCKRAN. You have made a suggestion that is striking, that these people have lived in Palestine for thirteen centuries. I want you to explain it to the committee. You have been in Palestine?

Mr. REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. Have you discovered any protest on the part of the natives?

Mr. REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. Of course, that has an important bearing. You have overlooked it in the course of your argument. My point of view is that here is the very extraordinary immigration in the whole course of international procedure, unparalleled in the history of the world. There is an attempt, an effort to restore a race. When you speak of Jews, there is no comparison with Catholics and Protestants; it is not a question of religion. It is a question of race. Those Jews are peculiar in the whole human family. They are all descended from one or two individuals. They have kept apart through all these centuries, through the limitations and changes, and are now as different and easily distinguishable as when Abraham was moving with his flocks to Canaan. Here is an attempt to face this problem. It is a very difficult one. For some reason or other the allied governments have decided that they would restore the Jews to the land of their origin, not the land of their origin, but maybe the land they believed was assigned to them by the act of the Creator himself. That can not be carried out under the ordinary rules that govern international relations. The rule that you invoke, the will of the people to determine their own fate certainly can not be questioned by any American.

Mr. REED. No, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. With the Allies we made common cause and they have decided in the peace settlement that the Jews should be restored to this land in Palestine. All those suggestions you have referred to come from different Jews with

the idea of carrying that out. If they are to be restored, they should have the same rights as one of our States.

In the city of New York nobody can be employed by the city unless he is a citizen of the United States. They have tried to put through laws that nobody should be employed unless he is a resident of the State of New York. That is, these regulations that have been suggested here by different Jewish authorities would not differ very widely from those, assuming that they are a separate State, an independent State, and that, I understand, is the object of the treaty. Is it your idea if that is the object, that that can not be done with justice? Are you opposed? Do you think we should humiliate the Jews? Would you give the Jews to understand that you think their enterprise——

Mr. BRAGG. Do we have it to give?

Mr. COCKRAN. We can not, of course, give it. We can extend our moral aid without damage to ourselves. That is the question, it seems to me, before us.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the policy of the committee to give the witnesses almost unlimited time.

Mr. REED. I will not ask it. I suppose one ought not in fairness to be merely destructive and not constructive, and I am absolutely opposed to political Zionism. I do not think any State will ever prosper founded by such means because people are the same all over, and the fact that 2,000 years ago a certain people lived there does not very much impress the minds of those who live there now. I know the Palestinians. I have talked with them. They are sensible. How would you feel if the German troops were holding you down until enough Frenchmen came in to take possession of the State.

Let me make a constructive suggestion: First Jewish colonies are brought to Palestine, and Palestinians praised them and said they were fine institutions. This was done without any political oppression whatever; and now, under the British Government, there is no doubt that other colonies could be founded. If the Jews went in and built up colonies, what would happen? I come from New Haven. We have 180,000 inhabitants, and they say there are 50,000 of Italian blood, and I am told in another generation it will be an Italian town. Our great surgeon is Doctor Verdi; our great theatrical manager is Mr. Poli. Italians have taken up land, made fine market gardens, and when I walk in the streets they ride in motors. I do not hold that against them. They have not taken away my rights. They have come in here fairly and we are all on the same footing, and if the Italians of New Haven by education in our schools become the best doctors, the best lawyers, the best theatrical managers, there will not be a single, solitary word said. There never was a protest from our New England town. But if those Italians had come in, waving a flag, saying, "This is our land," and supposing they make the claims Doctor Weizmann has made, such as I have read here, how do you think they would be received? I do not think you can ever found a just state on injustice, and the Zionists say that their state is to illustrate Jewish justice. I know my Zionist friends will not agree with me, yet I believe no greater harm could come to them than to found a state in this way. You can not separate that little place from Ireland and other free countries.

Mr. COCKRAN. I understand that your position is that the repatriation—I use that word—should occur through the action of the Jews themselves without any assistance of the Government, by the Jews going in and purchasing ground, exercising industry on the soil, and getting possession?

Mr. REED. Gradually.

Mr. COCKRAN. There is great force in that. Would it be entirely safe?

Mr. REED. Under England; yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. Would you quite agree that if they finally became owners of the soil and England said you can be independent, you would not have any objection to their establishing independence?

Mr. REED. There is only one objection. I have talked to educated Palestinians, and this is what they said: They would for protection make a bar to immigration for 10 years, so as to get on their feet.

Mr. COCKRAN. Who would?

Mr. COOPER. The Palestinians.

Mr. REED. No; the non-Zionists.

Mr. COOPER. It is very important, indeed.

Mr. REED. It is self-evident that the Zionists want immigration. The non-Palestinians would bar immigration for 10 years.

Mr. TEMPLE. The non-Palestinians?

Mr. REED. The non-Jewish Palestinians.

Mr. COCKRAN. The Jews in Jerusalem are working very well, and, further, they are making lands fertile that were sterile.

Mr. REED. To a certain extent; but it is not yet an economic success. It is an experiment.

Mr. COCKRAN. So far it is very promising.

Mr. REED. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. Your position is this: As I understand from what you state now, it would not be quite safe to leave those Jews to the protection of the non-Jewish Palestinians?

Mr. REED. No; I do not think so, for at present they are so inflamed. It would not be safe now, in my opinion. I have not brought in any testimony on that point from outside sources.

Mr. COCKRAN. Therefore, the only safety for these Jews, investors in the land of Palestine, that they could have, is some such arrangement proposed by these men that would perpetuate the English authorities. You are not in any sense contending for the rule of the majority of the people there.

Mr. REED. They could possibly make a state by saying, "We do not intend to swamp you by immigration. We will not establish a majority and then invoke self-determination." It was perfectly safe before the Balfour declaration.

May I just close what I have to say?

Mr. COCKRAN. Go ahead. I just wanted to direct your attention along the crux of our problem.

Mr. CONNALLY. Of course, this whole theory is based on the idea that the Jewish people have some claim in Palestine, and it is also apparent that the present occupants of that land have been there for a great many centuries. Is the claim of a great-great-grandfather any greater than the claim of a father or grandfather that occupied this land?

Mr. COCKRAN. There is no dispute between these possessors of the soil. Your proposition answers itself. Those Jews do not seek to get possession of the soil except by purchase.

Mr. CONNALLY. They propose to get it by reason of the Government giving them a preference.

Mr. COCKRAN. Even then they do not want to get it. The theory is that the Jews should have preference—placed in possession with full compensation to the persons there.

Mr. REED. I think we have the American principle. That is why I do not want you to vote for this resolution—because it is un-American. All men are equal before the law. If any man has preference he is not equal before the law.

Mr. COCKRAN. They are not equal before the law; and men who are citizens are not equal to nonresidents.

Mr. REED. Certainly; immigrants who come in there from everywhere are not on an equality with the people who have been there for years. The people there all those years are residents.

Mr. COCKRAN. The point is that we can not enforce over there the rule that governs in international relationship in Europe itself, because you say you could not trust them.

Mr. REED. I say at the present moment you could not; but if you changed the conditions you could.

The CHAIRMAN. I gather from your statement that you believe that the enforcement of the Balfour declaration would be a serious infringement on the rights of the people of Palestine.

Mr. REED. Of nine-tenths of the population of Palestine. If I have not made myself clear, my coming here has been useless.

The CHAIRMAN. With the passage of this resolution, in your opinion, there would be ratification by implication of the action taken by the League of Nations at San Remo?

Mr. REED. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it to that extent commit the American Government to the policy of the League of Nations?

Mr. REED. I am not an international lawyer; but you see that Senator Lodge's resolution absolutely names the Balfour declaration, and these are concurrent resolutions. I think the whole purpose of this is to line up America with the foreign powers in support of the Balfour declaration; and I think it is a very dangerous thing to do, because I think the Balfour declaration is un-American.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. He has characterized the mandate as he has gone along in some very severe terms. Would you ask him if he would give a con-

venient reference to the mandate, so that we might have a copy of it in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The mandate referred to is as follows:)

DRAFT OF THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE AS SUBMITTED BY MR. BALFOUR ON DECEMBER 7, 1920, TO THE SECRETARIAT-GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR THE APPROVAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Whereas by article 132 of the treaty of peace signed at Sevres on the 10th day of August, 1920, Turkey renounced in favor of the principal allied powers all rights and title over Palestine; and

Whereas by article 95 of the said treaty the high contracting parties agreed to intrust, by application of the provisions of article 22, the administration of Palestine, within such boundaries as might be determined by the principal allied powers, to a mandatory to be selected by the said powers; and

Whereas by the same article the high contracting parties further agreed that the mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the other allied powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing of non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has already been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the principal allied powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the terms of the mandate in respect of Palestine have been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the council of the league for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions:

Hereby approves the terms of the said mandate as follows:

ARTICLE 1. His Britannic Majesty shall have the right to exercise as mandatory all the powers inherent in the government of a sovereign State, save as they may be limited by the terms of the present mandate.

ART. 2. The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

ART. 3. The mandatory shall encourage the widest measure of self-government for localities consistent with the prevailing conditions.

ART. 4. An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the mandatory appropriate shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps, in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government, to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

ART. 5. The mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to or in any way placed under the control of the Government of any foreign power.

ART. 6. The administration of Palestine, while insuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish agency referred to in article 4, close settlement by Jews

on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ART. 7. The administration of Palestine will be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

ART. 8. The immunities and privileges of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, are definitely abrogated in Palestine.

ART. 9. The mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall safeguard (a) the interests of foreigners; (b) the law and (to the extent deemed expedient) the jurisdiction now existing in Palestine with regard to questions arising out of the religious beliefs of certain communities (such as the laws of Wakf and personal status). In particular, the mandatory agrees that the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

ART. 10. Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the mandatory and other foreign powers shall apply to Palestine.

ART. 11. The administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to article 311 of the treaty of peace with Turkey, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country, or of the public works, services, and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services, and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the administration.

ART. 12. The mandatory shall be intrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign powers. It shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

ART. 13. All responsibility in connection with the holy places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights, of securing free access to the holy places, religious buildings, and sites and the free exercise of worship, while insuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the mandatory, who will be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected therewith: *Provided*, That nothing in this article shall prevent the mandatory from entering into such arrangement as he may deem reasonable with the administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect: *And provided also*, That nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

ART. 14. In accordance with article 95 of the treaty of peace with Turkey, the mandatory undertakes to appoint as soon as possible a special commission to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities. In the composition of this commission the religious interests concerned will be taken into account. The chairman of the commission will be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. It will be the duty of this commission to insure that certain holy places, religious buildings, or sites regarded with special veneration by the adherents of one particular religion are intrusted to the permanent control of suitable bodies representing the adherents of the religion concerned. The selection of the holy places, religious buildings, or sites so to be intrusted shall be made by the commission, subject to the approval of the mandatory.

The rights of control conferred under this article will be guaranteed by the League of Nations.

ART. 15. The mandatory will see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, is insured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion, or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language—while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the administration may impose—shall not be denied or impaired.

ART. 16. The mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over missionary enterprise in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with such enterprise or to discriminate against any missionary on the ground of his religion or nationality.

ART. 17. The administration of Palestine may organize on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defense of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the mandatory, who shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified, save with the consent of the administration of Palestine, and except for such purposes no military, naval, or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of forces maintained by the mandatory in Palestine.

The mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways, and ports of Palestine for the movement of troops and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

ART. 18. The mandatory must see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any of the States members of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under their laws) as compared with those of the mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce, or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of ships or aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subjected as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population.

Nothing in this article shall prevent the Government of Palestine, on the advice of the mandatory, from concluding a special customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

ART. 19. The mandatory will adhere on behalf of the administration to any general international conventions already existing or that may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic, and wireless communication or literary, artistic, or industrial property.

ART. 20. The mandatory will cooperate on behalf of the administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social, and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ART. 21. The mandatory will secure, within 12 months from the date of the coming into force of this mandate, the enactment and will insure the execution of a law of antiquities based on the provisions of article 421 of Part XIII of the treaty of peace with Turkey. This law shall replace the former Ottoman law of antiquities and shall insure equality of treatment in the matter of archaeological research to the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations.

ART. 22. English, Arabic, and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscriptions in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew and any statements or inscriptions in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.



ART. 23. The administration of Palestine shall recognize the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

ART. 24. The mandatory shall make to the council of the League of Nations an annual report as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

ART. 25. If any dispute whatever should arise between the members of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation of the application of these provisions which can not be settled by negotiations, this dispute shall be submitted to the permanent court of international justice provided for by article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations.

ART. 26. The consent of the council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of the present mandate, provided that in the case of any modification proposed by the mandatory such consent may be given by a majority of the council.

ART. 27. In the event of the termination of the mandate conferred upon the mandatory by this declaration the council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guaranty of the league, the rights secured by articles 13 and 14, and for securing, under the guaranty of the league, that the Government of Palestine will fully honor the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate.

The present copy shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the secretary general of the League of Nations to all powers signatories of the treaty of peace with Turkey.

MR. LINTHICUM. In the beginning of your remarks you said the non-Jewish Palestinians were called Arabs, but were not Arabs.

MR. REED. Yes, sir.

MR. LINTHICUM. Can you tell us something about that race?

MR. TEMPLE. Is there any more complex mixture of races anywhere?

MR. REED. May I read you what Sir George Adam Smith has said:

"It is not true that Palestine is the national home of the Jewish people, and of no other people. It is not correct to call its non-Jewish inhabitants Arabs or to say that they have left no image of their spirit and made no history except in the Great Mosque."

I am giving now the evidence of Sir George Adams Smith on that point.

MR. CONNALLY. What are they, Syrians?

MR. REED. Yes. The Arab race is supposed to be a much purer race. The Syrians have Crusader blood, French blood, and, of course, they are a Semitic race. It is a mixed race. May I continue with what Sir George Adam Smith has said:

"Palestine formed as it is and surrounded as it is is emphatically a land of tribes. The idea that it can ever belong to one nation, even though that is the Jews, is contrary both to nature and to scripture."

That is from a man thoroughly in sympathy with Jewish history.

MR. TEMPLE. Is it not true that the geographical situation of Palestine has made it the cross-roads of the universe for thousands of years, and every racial element in that part of the world is represented in the native population of Palestine.

MR. REED. The Phen'cians, the Romans, the Greeks, the Persians.

MR. LINTHICUM. Also, the battlefield of the universe.

MR. REED. Mr. Cockran, I do not want to give you a wrong impression. This is not a matter of my personal opinions.

MR. COCKRAN. I understand.

MR. REED. I am very much stirred up by this resolution because I think it is wrong for our country to indorse a declaration written as that was in various offices and chancelleries. I think it was Mr. Lipsky who spoke of making Palestine a Switzerland. That is not the Zionist idea at all, because Switzerland is quite different. For example, a member of the Zionist executive in Palestine is Doctor Eder, a very fine man. He has stated that there can be only one national home in Palestine—a Jewish one; and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs. Doctor Eder said that when questioned by a commission appointed by Sir Herbert Samuel to investigate the Joppa riots which disgraced Palestine. In those riots both sides committed great wrongs. The commission shows it here in this report.

MR. COCKRAN. Which were the both sides?

Mr. REED. The Zionists, and as everyone says, the "Arab" side, the natives of Palestine.

Mr. COOPER. You think both sides did wrong. Do you think in the pogroms and butcheries that the Jews did wrong?

Mr. REED. No.

Mr. COOPER. You think the Jews were butchered in cold blood in the other countries?

Mr. REED. I think they were. There have been no pogroms in Palestine. Doctor Eder is the Zionist executive there.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The professor said he would like to go into the mandate.

Mr. REED. If you will let me I will make a further statement.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I suggest we hear from him on the mandate.

Mr. CONNALLY. Will you mind stating what was the occasion of your visit there?

Mr. REED. I worked as the deputy commissioner for the American Red Cross. I was there three and a half months in purely relief work.

(Thereupon, at 12.15 o'clock, p. m., the committee adjourned to meet again at 10.30 o'clock, a. m., Thursday, April 20, 1922.)

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COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Thursday, April 20, 1922.*

The committee this day met, Hon. Stephen G. Porter (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. Mr. Fish, have you anybody to call this morning?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you start, let me say that the Rev. Isaac Landman is here and desires to testify this morning.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Abraham Goldberg who is here represents the Zionists of America, and will be our first speaker to-day. He wishes about 30 minutes.

**STATEMENT OF MR. ABRAHAM GOLDBERG, 55 FIFTH AVENUE,  
NEW YORK CITY.**

The CHAIRMAN. Kindly state your name and address and occupation.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Abraham Goldberg; office 55 Fifth Avenue, care of the Zionist Organization of America.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that your only occupation?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am a journalist.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Where were you born?

Mr. GOLDBERG. In Russia.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. That is all.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Mr. Chairman and Congressmen, I want to preface my remarks before I answer the question of the distinguished Congressman who asked me where I was born. I am not, to begin with, a professor, not an assistant, certainly not a professor of English. I was not born even in America which I regret very much. Unfortunately, I was born in a land where the Jews are massacred, robbed, and despoiled. I came here when I was 17 years old, because I had very few chances in Russia, and I came with my parents because they too were robbed of even the possibility of making a living. But when I came here I did not relinquish the hope that the Jews as a people might get back their own land. Not only did I not relinquish that hope, but I was sure the American people as such would help us. Personally, I am a citizen of the Great Republic and protected by the flag of the Republic, and I believe I love America because I know the difference between the land I came from and the land I adopted, and I believe that at any moment were America in danger I would be ready to shed my blood for this country, but at the same time the Jewish people, as a people, is unfortunate, has not anything to itself, has not a land, is robbed of the possibility of even developing its own language, and when I came to these shores I was certain America would help the Jewish people to get its land back.

Gentlemen, I must say this, that there are not many here that are opposed to the Jews. On the contrary, wherever we go we meet many and many friends

of the Jewish people, but still I even then realized that there might come a time when 8,000,000 of unfortunate Jews will ask for a haven and will not get it because certain laws will be passed that will prevent them from coming even here. I do not say that the immigration restrictions were meant against the Jews, but the Jew is in any event the main sufferer, and I thought it was about time that we prepare a place for the Jewish people; that when they look for a home of refuge they could go there.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Do you think that our immigration laws are passed designedly to prevent Jews from coming to this country?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I just said the reverse.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. I beg your pardon.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I said the restrictive laws were not designed against the Jews, but since we are a people that is unfortunately situated, any law, even a law that I would support myself as an American, hits my people.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Discriminatory.

Mr. GOLDBERG. No. I say that it was not meant to hit us in any way, but it happened that it has hit us most severely.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Yes.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I said that I believe that America will help us and I did not relinquish that hope. I will speak of Americanism because we were charged here that being for Palestine for the Jews is un-American. I hope to God that America will yet add to its glorious record the achievement of having helped another oppressed race to get its homeland.

I am not going to weary you gentlemen with quotations. I could bring mountains of quotations. I could quote the Bible. But that is a book that you all know, and you know the prophecies about the Jewish land. It is no use of getting haphazard hearsay remarks of one man and another and try to impress you with that. Our sacred literature is open to all peoples. It is the source I believe, indeed, of the philosophy of many peoples, and you know what was said in that literature about Palestine and about the Jews and about their yearning to reestablish the ancient land. It is superfluous to talk about that.

I am not going, as I say, to quote. It would also be wrong of me to impugn the motives of the man who came here yesterday to oppose, although I must express my surprise. The surprise is double, first, that a Christian should come and try to prevent the Jews from getting into their own, which is in accordance with the prophecies and fundamental justice. I am surprised, furthermore, that a man pleading no one's cause, not representing anyone, as he says, came here, spent his time, left his college, spent here days, and is ready to spend other days, in order to obstruct a righteous endeavor. I do not know why. I leave that to you. Of course you were told that he came to save Americanism which is in danger. Well, gentlemen, before I go any further, I want to say that President Harding is in sympathy with the Zionist movement. I hope he is a good American. President Wilson, also. There are about 60 Senators and 237 Congressmen who have expressed themselves in favor of it. Secretary Hughes and other leading Americans take a similar view. Fourteen States have passed resolutions in favor of this cause. Fourteen State governors, Christian professors—for example, Dr. Elliot, who doubtless knows something about Americanism; scores of men like these went on record. I do not believe that you are in danger and that you need to have a professor come to save you from the pitfall of un-Americanism.

Gentlemen, I must here express my surprise why we did not deal yesterday with fundamentals instead of spending our time on casual remarks that one man said this, and another man said something else. The mental picture drawn before you reminded me of the notorious anti-Jewish "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." The burden of his speech was, "Beware! The Jew is here, and you know his machinations."

Professor Reed went into a description of the menace of the Balfour declaration, and said that it was a sinister document, that you must be very careful about it. What is the trouble with this document? The document is here before you, providing for the rights of everybody. The document was approved by our own Government in a certain sense. President Wilson and his administration knew of it; the Republicans knew of it; Senator Lodge knew of it; President Harding and Secretary Hughes knew of it. But he drew a picture. Probably every Gentile harbors a little bit of suspicion toward Jews. Professor Reed played here on this chord continually: "Beware! The Jew is here. The Balfour declaration or document was made in secret, and so you must be careful of it."

Gentlemen, you know, and I need not tell you, how documents are prepared. This document, too, was prepared in the ordinary way. Lord Milner drafted it and they showed it to the Zionist organization, consulted with the leaders, and with others, discussed every word and then issued it to the public as public property. But this is, after all, not touching the real question in any way; does not begin to touch upon the fundamentals, Mr. Chairman.

The first question is, and as fair-minded men I would like to ask you, do you think that the Jewish people—I would not speak of their merits; I would not speak of their qualities; I would not speak of their defects. I would not say we are the chosen people; if we are chosen, we were probably chosen as the target for insults and persecutions for the last two thousand years. I would not say we are a chosen people, but I would say that we are a living people that are to be considered. We are a people numbering about 14,000,000; about 300,000,000 or more were exterminated during the ages, but we are now 14,000,000, and I ask you if the Albanians are entitled to a country, if the Czecho-Slovaks are entitled to a country, if the Poles are entitled to a country, the Yugo-Slovaks, the Roumanians.

The CHAIRMAN. Is what?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Are entitled to a land of their own.

Mr. COOPER. A government and land of their own.

Mr. GOLDBERG. All those, even the Albanians, who have not yet an alphabet of their own; still we say, and I believe we are right in saying, "Let them have a country of their own." The Irish have now a free State, and I believe they should have a State of their own. We are in great sympathy with the Irish.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The north or south of Ireland?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am speaking of Ireland as a people. The division between them is most unfortunate. You must know that we too have some who do not agree with us. It is most unfortunate. No people is entirely united. We have a few who are what I consider traitors to a great cause. So they are, but what can we do? We have a few, but 99 per cent—the majority, an overwhelming majority of the Jewish people—stand like one man behind the demand for a Jewish homeland. The Irish, the Poles, the Slovaks, the Germans, the Italians were at one time fighting among themselves. But they have finally obtained their hope. They each have their land. Now, I ask you, in fairness, are the Jews as a people entitled to a piece of land, to a place in the sun? Is there any other nationality that has had more troubles, or any other nation worse off? That is the fundamental question. I would not speak of what we have accomplished, what we have done for the world. That would be boasting. I would not speak of that, but you will admit, gentlemen, that the culture, the civilization of the modern world was founded on the culture of three great nations—the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews. The Greeks had no country of their own for some time. The Romans—the Italians—had no country of their own at one time, but the Jews still have no country of their own. What happened? The people aroused themselves and said, in gratitude to these two nations: We will help them build and free their country. We helped the Italians. America had a great share in freeing Italy. Italy finally became the land of the Italians. The English helped the Greeks. Many leading men then appealed to the American Nation, to the sense of justice and fairness of every right thinking man to help the Greeks, who contributed a large part of our culture. Who, out of these three great nationalities still remained without a land?

Mr. KENNEDY. Of all those nationalities that you have enumerated, if I understand the difference between you and the gentleman who talked here yesterday, is this: Take the Irish people, for instance, they are distinct people, and occupy Ireland in a majority. They do to-day. That is true of Poland, and also true of Italy and Czechoslovakia.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. KENNEDY. A point made by a previous speaker was that the Jewish people only constituted one-tenth of the entire population of Palestine.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Right.

Mr. KENNEDY. What have you to say about that?

Mr. GOLDBERG. That is what I said. We were not dealing with fundamentals.

Mr. KENNEDY. I am not offering this as an objection. I am looking for your idea of it.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am very grateful.

Mr. FISH. He is trying to guide you.

Mr. KENNEDY. If to-day there were not 100 Jews in Palestine, would you still hold for the justice of the proposition?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am just coming to that.

Mr. KENNEDY. That is what I wish you to come to.

Mr. GOLDBERG. You have hit the nail on the head by asking that at first. This is a fundamental question. The first fundamental is: Are we entitled to a land? Now, we come to the second, that you have touched upon, the second fundamental.

Mr. KENNEDY. I think that that is the essence of the whole question.

Mr. GOLDBERG. We are getting back to the next question, which is about Palestine. Is Palestine the homeland of the Jews? As you said, suppose there were not 100 Jews there. Would we still claim that Palestine is our home? I say yes. The reason why is this: The Jew was forced to leave Palestine. He did not do it because he wanted to. Read Jewish history. Read Josephus and you must impartially admit that the grandest fight that was ever put up against an enemy was put up by the Jew. We never thought of leaving Palestine. But we were driven out. Did the Jew, when he was driven out, give up his hope of getting back there? Jewish history and literature give the answer to that question. Never! Take our prayer book. We have even a fast day devoted to the day of the destruction of the Jewish homeland. We never throughout history gave up our hope of returning there. We are this very day celebrating the last days of Passover in every synagogue, with the exception of a few reform Jews, who do not count. Even among them we have the best men for us, as Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Martin Meyer, Rabbi Max Heller, and Professor Newmark, of the Union College. In a word, the best minds among them believe in the necessity of reestablishing the Jewish land. But I speak of the Jewish people. The Reform Jews are simply a small branch, insignificant according to the numbers. Ninety per cent of the Jews to-day are praying for the return of the Jewish people to its own home. We never gave up the idea. We never have forgotten it. On the other hand, see what happened to Palestine. Was Palestine during the ages taken over and held by anybody in the sense of a homeland of any other people? No. I do not know whether you are religious or not. It is a matter of personal views, but there is something providential in the fact that Palestine for 1,800 years was not conquered by anybody or settled, but remained in desolation to this very day as if waiting for the return of its people.

Of course, gentlemen, if you go to Palestine, as I was there, you would see that whatever there is yet of the culture in that land it is still the reminder of what the Jews have done there. It is still Jerusalem, still Jaffa, still the Mount of Olives, still Carmel, and the other names remain yet. It is still Bethlehem, it is still Nazareth; nothing has changed. Jewish law is still imprinted in every step you take. Every little mountain or big mountain, every hillock, every stream. It is still the same Jordan. Nothing has been changed. Yes, sir; something was changed. I do not want to speak against the Turks. We are through with them; but surely they have ravaged our country. They made a mess of it. Everything was destroyed; they felled the trees. You know what the Bible tells us about our land flowing with milk and honey. There is no honey there now and the milk is dried out. They made a fine mess of it. That is what they have accomplished, and it is still waiting in desolation for an industrious people to come in and make a real land in accordance with the picture in the Bible. That is what is going to happen, gentlemen. That is what we want to do there.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Have they destroyed the forests of Mount Lebanon?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Lebanon is cultivated to-day. In Palestine the trees were felled and destroyed. There were trees planted called the eucalyptus. Even the Arabs over there call it the tree of the Jews, because the Jews introduced it.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the eucalyptus planted there?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Since the Jews have come in there.

The CHAIRMAN. Recently?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Between Jerusalem and Jericho how much devastation did they do during the war?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am not speaking of the war. I am speaking of the ages. The land was devastated, and I do not speak of one particular place.

Mr. KENNEDY. You mean that the place was already desolated. If it was already desolated before the war, the war would not desolate it.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I did not speak of the war. That is what I want to say. Within these 1,800 years, if anything of culture remained there—if anything of importance remained there—it was still from the ages when the Jew was there. Since then—

Mr. KENNEDY (interposing). My statement was directed to the other gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the total Jewish population of Palestine?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am coming to that. That is the particular point. Before the war we had there about 100,000. During the war many Jews died, and no Jews have come in, or not very many, and the Jews died in the number of about 14,000 in Jerusalem alone. We have now nearly 90,000.

The CHAIRMAN. The population of Jews in Palestine has been running along about 100,000 for perhaps a century.

Mr. GOLDBERG. The real movement began 25 years ago; that is, the movement of re-peopling the land by Jews.

Mr. ACKERMAN. How many years?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Twenty-five years ago the great movement began. The first Zionist congress was called then.

Mr. FISH. How many Jews were there in Palestine 50 years ago?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Much less.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately?

Mr. GOLDBERG. We had no statistics under the Turks, but you may be sure they were few. Fifty years ago there may have been 40,000 approximately. There were no statistics. We were dealing with the Turks.

The CHAIRMAN. When did the Jewish population in Palestine reach its lowest number, or were they all driven out?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Reached its lowest number?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOLDBERG. For instance, 500 or 600 years ago there were not even a handful of Jews, not enough to hold a prayer meeting. You have to have 10 Jews in order that you may hold such a prayer meeting. Well, they did not even have enough to be able to pray together, so few they were.

The CHAIRMAN. Assuming that 500 years ago there were no Jews in Palestine—

Mr. GOLDBERG (interposing). Almost very few.

The CHAIRMAN. The growth of the population was—

Mr. GOLDBERG. Was very slow.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask the question. The growth of the population was very slow?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Very.

The CHAIRMAN. The Jews at the present time or before the war numbered about 100,000?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And now you figure you have there about 50,000?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No; it must be now nearly 90,000.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand you, all of the Jews throughout the world are desirous of returning to Palestine. What is there to prevent any Jew that desires to do so from purchasing property in Palestine and living there without any assistance from the American Congress or the British Government or anybody else?

Mr. GOLDBERG. The answer is very plain, Mr. Chairman. Under the Turks there was a law preventing Jewish immigration. The Jew that entered the land received a ticket of permission to stay there a short while and then he had to get out. I do not want to speak against the Arabian nationality, but Jewish lives were not secure there. I will show you what happened in the last few years, and that is the reason, actually, why we are here. Why do I stand here to plead with you? To make this land accessible to the Jew, to secure Jewish life and property there; in order to do that certain rights must obtain. Palestine is not a land like the West in this country where you could come and get a piece of property and settle it and make your home there. No; the land has to be bought. It has to be drained and made sanitary. It needs a great deal of money to do that. Besides, you have to turn a population that is not farmers into colonists. This is a very hard task. Millions of dollars are necessary to do that. To take a man who was in the city for 2,000 years, a city dweller, and turn him into a colonist is a hard task. You can imagine how long it will take to make this land arable, to make it productive. Consequently we need

money, we need sympathy, we need the support of the world behind this. Otherwise we could go in there and Jewish history may tragically repeat itself.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Is there not a great deal of land between Jaffa and before you get into the hills into Jerusalem?

Mr. GOLDBERG. There is a good deal of land, but it is occupied. But there is other land one could buy. There is other land to be improved. The Jewish colonies were made out of swamps. Take one colony, for instance, Hederah. When I was there the first thing I did was to go to the cemetery. Why? Because so many of them died out in a very short while due to malaria, with which the land was infested. But now the climate there is excellent. Holes were bored deep in the soil for water. I saw the Arabs coming to the well and getting that water fresh from the well. How did they do it? That was prepared; it cost money. You can not say, Mr. Chairman, let it go free. In order to get that we must raise millions of dollars. So we come here asking and pleading with you to give us this moral support necessary so that the Jew shall know that if he goes in there he is not going to have his work and energy put in there, to be again deprived of his property and again driven into a new exile.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the moral support of the American Congress protect the Jews in Palestine?

Mr. GOLDBERG. The moral support counts for very much. You need not protect them in the sense that you are going to send armies and navies. I do not mean it in that sense. I mean that we want to have it proclaimed by the American people that you look with favor upon the establishment of a Jewish home.

Mr. COOPER. A century ago, a very great American, one of the greatest intellects of modern times in this or any country, an American statesman, Daniel Webster, thought that the resolution passed by the American Congress in sympathy with the Greeks fighting the Turks would help the Greeks.

Mr. GOLDBERG. That is it exactly, and what we are pleading for, what the Irish were voted and given—sympathy—and we are pleading for what the Czecho-Slovaks had.

The CHAIRMAN. The Jews are not fighting with the Turks. The Turks are out of there.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I did not hear that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Turks are out. The Jews are not fighting the Turks.

Mr. GOLDBERG. No; we are not fighting anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is disturbing the Jews in Palestine to-day?

Mr. GOLDBERG. The Jews of Palestine to-day are disturbed by agitators who are going around among this very population that we would like to live peaceably with, and spread all kinds of rumors against the Jews. We therefore must once for all know that if we go to Palestine that we are protected by the moral support of the world, and, naturally, by the British who are there and try to hold the scales of justice evenly.

Mr. COCKRAN. The British are there now.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. As long as the British remain there you are secure.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. Let me suggest this for consideration. Suppose the present system were continued and the British mandate was the authority there, there would be nothing to prevent the Jews from coming and buying land, would there?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Assuming the present condition is continued.

Mr. COCKRAN. For a generation or so.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. And if the British authority were maintained there, the Jews would feel safe then in coming in, buying land, and investing their money?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. What you want there is the continuance of the present conditions or else the substitution of some system yet to be devised by which the Jew will be protected?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. You are satisfied with the present situation?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. All that you insist upon according to that is that if there is any change in the present system provision should be made to insure the safety of the Jews; I mean to secure property and opportunity.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Perfectly right. The only thing that we want at this moment is to have America line up with all the other great nations who have indorsed the stand of Great Britain.

Mr. LINTHICUM. You think this resolution will indorse the British mandate over Palestine?

Mr. GOLDBERG. It is not a question of the mandate. We have not included that. It is the moral support of the principle of a Jewish homeland that we ask for. We want to be satisfied to say to ourselves that America, that great Republic, is in sympathy with this great cause. That is all.

Mr. KENNEDY. You do not mean that you will be satisfied for that British mandate to go on forever, to get your protection from that?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No.

Mr. KENNEDY. What you want is for that to continue as long as necessary, and then the time will come when you will direct your own government?

Mr. FISH. When they have a majority.

Mr. GOLDBERG. That is it.

Mr. KENNEDY. That does not accord with what you just said in respect to Mr. Cockran's question.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I said we are satisfied for the time being. I do not see any contradiction in that; but, for further elucidation, the word "mandate" means the same thing we mean when we speak in the case of a minor—

Mr. KENNEDY (interposing). A mandate is a trusteeship?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Exactly; to keep it for us.

Mr. KENNEDY. Until you can run it for yourselves?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Exactly.

Mr. LINTHICUM. You said there were about 100,000 Jews in Palestine?

Mr. GOLDBERG. About 90,000.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The highest figures I have seen quoted were 70,000, and most of them say 60,000. Where do you get your statistics?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I did not say a hundred thousand. I said about 90,000.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I think one of your own people said 70,000.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Before the war. There is an influx. That was Mr. Lipsky. There has been a monthly increase.

Mr. LIPSKY. There has been a monthly increase.

Mr. LINTHICUM. It has not increased so rapidly. There are 60,000 to 70,000. Is that correct?

Mr. COOPER. One of the speakers said yesterday that the influx was 1,500 a month. That would be 18,000 a year.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Of late there has been an increase.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Where do you get your statistics from?

Mr. LIPSKY. We have no authentic statistics.

Mr. GOLDBERG. It is guesswork; no statistics. But I want to say this: That if the influx of immigration would not be stopped, and if we could have our chances for free development—within the last two years we had three massacres in Palestine, which frightened away the Jews. If we are to go to Palestine and be massacred, where is the redemption; where is that great idea? That puts a quietus on that movement. But if liberty were secured, if all good Christians would voice their sentiments—that they will not tolerate massacres in Palestine; that they demand that there be peace, peace for everyone, and allow the Jews to go in there and live peacefully; then I assure you that there would, as quoted yesterday, in 10 years be a half a million Jews in Palestine.

Mr. COLE. You say there are about 700,000 Arabs in Palestine?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. COLE. You could not assume control of that country until after you have gotten rid of them or until you outnumbered them?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Our intention is not to get rid of anybody.

Mr. COLE. Then, you would have to outnumber them—more than 700,000.

Mr. GOLDBERG. The point is this: It does not necessarily mean that the 700,000 Arabs would vote against the real interests of Palestine were there not special men who go around egging the population on and advising them not to allow the Jews to come in there—were there not these anti-Semites.

Mr. COLE. Would not they insist upon having their government as long as they are in the majority?

Mr. GOLDBERG. You take it as though the 700,000 Arabs are all inimical to the Jews, but that is not the case.



Mr. COLE. Would you not in process of time have a protracted struggle between the Arabs and the Jews in the same way as they have the north and south of Ireland situation?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No. I am not a prophet and I am not prophesying here, but I do not see it. I will explain why. I would have come to it anyhow; but since you ask me I will answer. Out of this war the Arabs have obtained Arabia. They also have Mesopotamia and they have Syria and Egypt. They have plenty of places in which to develop their nationality. As a nation they have benefited greatly as a result of the war. Before the war they were under the yoke of the Turk. Now they have their own kingdom in Arabia, and they have Mesopotamia, which could maintain 30,000,000 people.

Mr. COLE. They would be willing to go out of Palestine?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No; I do not think that. I do not believe they should go out. We do not want to have the land purely Jewish. We will have Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews there. If all religions can not live in Palestine peacefully, wherein could we? Palestine should serve as an example to the world. All three religions will live there peacefully. As a matter of fact, no one can accuse us that we have done anything in that land to injure anybody; on the contrary, we have benefited the land.

Mr. KENNEDY. Your policy is not to be antagonistic but to cooperate?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. What is the population of Jerusalem?

Mr. GOLDBERG. We have no figures, but I would say the Jewish population is 40,000 or 50,000; it may be 35,000; it fluctuates.

Mr. KENNEDY. The Jews predominate?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Before the war they did, but they do not predominate now.

Mr. COOPER. May I make a suggestion without desiring to dictate? Yesterday the professor had a carefully prepared discourse. He was interrupted at intervals by questions not germane to the subject which he was discussing in the progress of his prepared discourse.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. The gentleman has some prepared statement that has some sort of suggestions such as were made yesterday. Now, if he is to be interrupted and asked questions upon this subject and upon that, without any relation to the argument that he is making, it will disrupt and destroy the effect of his statement. I should say it would be well to confine questions to the subject he is discussing as he proceeds. That is, it seems to me, the fair way to the speaker if he is to be limited at all in time.

Mr. LINTHICUM. One or two questions I have to ask.

You said there were about 14,000,000 Jews in the world?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. LINTHICUM. What proportion have we in this country of that number?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I should say that we have three and a half millions in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I want to tell you gentlemen, that Zionism did not start with the World War. Zionism is not a new-fangled movement. It started 24 years ago and we then made our position very clear, under which conditions we want to go to Palestine. These are the very words of the program that was formulated at that time: "A publicly secured, a legally assured homeland in Palestine." The words "publicly secured" were used because we believed that unless we had the support of the nations it is of no use for a helpless people to go in there and try to build up the land. As a Congressman very aptly said yesterday, the Jews had very sad experiences. We were building in all lands, we were living in Spain, France, and in many other countries, but as soon as we had reached a certain measure of importance and greatness, we were driven out. That happened to us many, many times. What is the sense then of going into Palestine to do that over again? We want to have publicly secured rights so that we will be a nation in the world like Switzerland, like Belgium, and have the support of the world. That is why we ask the United States to help us. Our aim was made very clear. There was no secret about that and there is no use in bringing pieces of paper here to make it appear that there are dark secrets.

First, we had a Congress, in the open, before the world, to proclaim what we want, asking the world to help us gain for the Jewish people a place in the sun again. That was one of the principles. Unless we have the assistance of the nations of the world, the Jew can not redeem his own home. Could there be any secret spoken so openly? As I said, it was 24 years ago that we had our first

congress. Our leader, who was mentioned here, Dr. Herzl, saw the Italian King, came before the English Parliament, visited the Pope and was very cordially received, he saw the German ruler, and he pleaded with them all, the Jewish people have no country and they want to go back to their own country. Will you help them? Not much could have been done before the war. Everybody was opposed to everybody else. The Kaiser had his own intentions on Palestine and he probably was opposed. What could we do? We could only establish there colony after colony and wait for a better chance. That is what we have done. Then came the war. The war was an opportunity for all oppressed nationalities. You had the Czecho-Slavs here. Their president, Mr. Masaryk, was here, pleading for his country and if they now have a country of their own, much must be placed to the credit of America. Another nationality, the Polish nation, was here also asking for assistance. The Zionists during the war had conferences with the English and the French and with Pope Benedict, and with representatives of other governments, asking and pleading with all of them to improve the fate of an unfortunate people. Yes; we are most unfortunate. That should not be forgotten. That should not leave the memory of anyone here. We asked for the right to live and demanded of the governments that they help us. Arthur Balfour, in the name of Britain, said at that time, "Yes; we will do all we can." The Italians indorsed his stand.

The French indorsed it. Many other nations, China indorsed it—by the way, China, too was helped by America in her struggle for freedom. And I hope we too will be helped. President Wilson in his own capacity did what he could. President Harding, when he came into office, expressed his interest in the Zionist movement. Many other officials expressed sympathy with the movement. But now we come to you and say we want you, as a body which expresses the will of the American people, to put your seal of approval on the great ideal and right an injustice 1,850 years old.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. It is conceded that the situation in Palestine would still be absolutely hopeless except for Great Britain exercising the duties prescribed by the mandate operated under the covenant of the League of Nations?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes; if what you mean to say is, if I understand you right, that in order to deal justly with this peculiar problem, we had to resort to the means of a mandate; for, as it was pointed out, we are dealing here with a problem that is unique and has no parallel in history. We are not yet a majority there. If we were a majority in Palestine, there would be no problem. The problem is due to the fact that we are not in Palestine yet. We want to go there. Palestine is unoccupied.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. We would not be talking about this thing except that the covenant of the League of Nations in its exercise imposes upon Great Britain duties under that covenant?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes; to hold this land for the Jew until he is there in great numbers.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Then your idea is that the other people who are residents of Palestine shall have a voice in the government?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Absolutely. The idea is that here we come with a practical thing. What is to be done? The Jew is to go in there. Now, at this moment, you have 500,000 Arabs and 100,000 or, perhaps, 90,000 Jews. The number is not important at this moment. What is to be done? We do not want to dominate. The Balfour declaration is clear on this point. We do not intend to dominate anybody. We do not want to take advantage of anybody's soil. Seventy-five per cent of the soil is still unoccupied. The land has altogether 700,000 inhabitants, and according to Bryce 3,000,000 more could be supported, and according to Professor Ballod, of Germany, about 6,000,000. If you will irrigate the soil and introduce electrification and industrialize it, it might support even more. Nothing has been done along that line until now. The land remained unoccupied. You remember what Professor Reed said, that if you were to leave it to the Arabs they will stop immigration and would not allow the Jews to come in. What are we going to do if that happens? What are we going to do if they decide not to allow any concessions?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say the Arabs are opposed to the immigration of the Jews?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I said that is what the professor asserted yesterday. He said that if you leave it to them they would stop immigration for 10 years at least. But why 10? They might stop it forever.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Arabs oppose immigration?

Mr. GOLDBERG. The Arabs, if you speak of them, are often inarticulate. There are a few agitators who speak in their name. These few say that the Arabs are opposed to immigration, but many Arabic communities were passing resolutions asking the Jews to come in and develop the land. As I said, if this artificial agitation against Jews by people who are interested in preventing the establishment of a Jewish home were stopped, nothing would have happened to us in Palestine.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand you, the only people who disturb the Jews at the present time are the Arabs?

Mr. GOLDBERG. They are disturbing us.

The CHAIRMAN. They do disturb you?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Some of them. I would not say the Arab people. It would be an injustice to say that about all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of the Arab people. Are they opposed to the immigration of the Jew?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Some of them are opposed, but not all of them. The trouble is that you deal here with a people which is inarticulate.

Mr. KENNEDY. Why should they oppose the influx of the Jews through the process of immigration, when, as I understand, the productivity that exists in Palestine to-day comes as a result of Jewish activity?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Right.

Mr. KENNEDY. As I understand, all the productivity that exists in Palestine to-day comes as the result of Jewish activity?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Right.

Mr. KENNEDY. If you stopped Jewish immigration you will turn the country back to its former sterile condition?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes; that is what we say. It is also in the interest of the Arabs that Jews should enter the country. But there are agitators who go out among the people and tell them that the Jew will oppress them and take away their land, and even their women, and what not. Then the trouble begins. What are we going to do about it?

Mr. KENNEDY. What industry that goes on there is to be a public benefit. It is not an enterprise for private profit at all?

Mr. GOLDBERG. If it is a public undertaking, but if it is the undertaking of a private man it is for his profit.

Mr. KENNEDY. The idea of the Jews is to build up the country industrially?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Industrially and agriculturally, for the benefit of all. If there would be no sinister agitation carried on against us much could be accomplished. We hope to God that this agitation will stop eventually. A great friendship will then spring up between these two elements. As a matter of fact, you can not speak of those 600,000 Arabs there as a nation.

Mr. FISH. What Mr. Kennedy wants to find out, and many other members of the committee, is this: You say that Palestine is a desolate country, neglected for centuries, and the Jewish people will go there and cultivate it. Apparently it is acknowledged all over the world that they want to develop Palestine, plow the fields, harness the water supply, and bring industry and prosperity there. That is what they want to find out from you. Is that the intention of these colonists?

Mr. GOLDBERG. We proved that by what we have done till now. Our work will be an incentive to the Arab population to emulate us.

Mr. COCKRAN. The question you have stated here is that the Jews have reason to apprehend violence from the other population. That is what you are here to obtain—a proclamation against it. What grounds have you to assume that of the population there? What is your reason?

Mr. GOLDBERG. In the last two years it actually happened. They have already attacked the Jews.

Mr. COCKRAN. Where and when?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I visited Palestine two years ago during Passover. You could imagine my joy in expecting to see the land of my forefathers as an American citizen, the happiness of a Jew coming from Russia to America and becoming a citizen of this great Republic, and then to proceed for a visit to Palestine. Now picture my grief when on the first day that I arrived there—the first day of Passover—in the streets of Jerusalem Jews were killed.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were killed?

Mr. GOLDBERG. The number at that time I can not tell you; about 6 or so. In the last attack the number was 36. The killing of the Jews now is so frequent that we do not keep any records any more.

The CHAIRMAN. That is hardly a fair statement to make. That statement was made when the pogroms were on in Poland. It seems to me you were on the ground, and ought to have ascertained with some degree of certainty the number of them.

Mr. COOPER. He said 36.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Thirty-six, that was the attack on the 4th of May.

Mr. COCKRAN. Tell us the circumstances. How did it arise?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am willing.

Mr. COCKRAN. Go on.

Mr. GOLDBERG. At the time when I came there they circulated all kinds of rumors among the Arabs against the Jews. They have only a few newspapers. Most of the Arabs do not read. Still rumors are circulated there, and they circulated and spread like wildfire at that time all kinds of rumors about the intentions of the Jews, first that they will come in and dominate, take away the land, suppress them, do all kinds of mischief. It is very easy to incite a mob, especially when the Jews who just came in there do not know Arabic yet. They will know it in time. They are studying it, and many of them know it already, but the bulk does not yet. Due to this agitation we had all kinds of attacks, and the Government had to take means to protect us. We even had to organize ourselves in self-defense.

Mr. COCKRAN. How did they attack you—with paving stones, guns, clubs?

Mr. GOLDBERG. With guns, firing at us in the streets of Jerusalem.

Mr. COCKRAN. While your feast was in progress?

Mr. GOLDBERG. It was a Moslem holiday, too, and Jews came together with the Arabs. Some agitator mounted a rostrum and delivered an inciting speech, and said, "We must protect ourselves against the influx of Jews who come here to ravage our country and kill us and take away everything we possess." The Jews were then killed and wounded in immense numbers.

Mr. COCKRAN. How killed?

Mr. GOLDBERG. With weapons, stones, knives, in the streets of Jerusalem.

Mr. COCKRAN. Did you see them?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I saw one.

Mr. COCKRAN. Killed?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. How was he killed?

Mr. GOLDBERG. He was stabbed with a knife.

Mr. COCKRAN. How many were concerned in that?

Mr. GOLDBERG. A mob attacked. During the whole day wherever the mob got hold of a few Jews they attacked them and wounded them. Before the police came in and offered protection to the Jews no Jew was safe with his life. This was repeated several times. I am not sure of the dates, but some outbreaks occurred, and, as I said, in the last one 36 Jews were killed and hundreds were wounded.

Mr. COCKRAN. Tell us the circumstances of it as you understand.

Mr. GOLDBERG. The circumstances are as usual. First, rumors are spread that the Jew is going to dominate, the Jew is going to grab the land, take away their soil, and so forth, and then when the first Jews come outside in the streets, at the first impact, as soon as they come together—

Mr. COCKRAN. Who is it that come together?

Mr. GOLDBERG. As soon as the Jews, on the one hand, and the Arabs, on the other, come together.

Mr. COCKRAN. What draws all the Jews to the street immediately at that time?

Mr. GOLDBERG. For instance, the Jews have a holiday.

Mr. COCKRAN. Did they have one on this particular occasion?

Mr. GOLDBERG. On this particular occasion, the last one, when so many Jews were killed, it was a workingmen's holiday, when the Jewish workingmen received permission of the government to come out—

Mr. COCKRAN (interrupting). For a parade?

Mr. GOLDBERG. For a parade. There must have been, according to the testimony, some skirmish between the Jews—just a skirmish.

Mr. COCKRAN. What do you mean by that—skirmish?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Some small party of the Jews and the other party.

Mr. COCKRAN. You mean the Arabs?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No; the Jews among themselves quarreled, but nothing serious happened. But as soon as this occurred there was an onrush of the Arabs, who began attacking the Jews with the help of the Arab police, which is admit-

ted even by the government—with the help of the Arab police, and 36 Jews were killed and 190 wounded.

Mr. COCKRAN. How long did that last, that disturbance?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Three days.

The CHAIRMAN. The 1st of May, 1921?

Mr. GOLDBERG. After that they attacked various Jewish colonies. They went out to attack the colonies because of rumors that were spread about the Jews kidnapping some of the workingmen, taking away some of their women—on the basis of these rumors other attacks were made. Now, in order to be sure that we are not going to have attacks and outbreaks and that this kind of agitation and propaganda against the peaceful immigration of the Jews will be stopped it is essential, first, that the British Government be there and maintain order, and then we are asking for the moral support of the world.

Mr. CONNALLY. Supposing the moral support was not sufficient. Supposing we passed this resolution and pogroms were started, would you expect the United States Government to intervene?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No; we do not expect that. We do not want in any way to entangle this Government. We do not mean to do that.

Mr. CONNALLY. There is one question about this whole proposition. Naturally only the Jews that will go to Palestine to establish this Zionist movement are those not successful where they are living and not satisfied with the country in which they are residing.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Do you think you could properly build up a sound and successful economic structure or a successful political structure with the outcasts from the other nations?

Mr. GOLDBERG. As you know, the Jew is not exactly an outcast because he is oppressed.

Mr. CONNALLY. No; I do not mean that. I mean just what I say. You will admit that. You are not going there to form a colony. That is not your land. It is only the Jews in the countries that are not doing well and are not successful in the countries where they reside that will go to Palestine. Out of such material, can you do it? I want your idea.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am going to answer you. You have in this country some 2,000,000 of these outcasts, so called.

Mr. CONNALLY. No; you do not understand that. I have got lots of Jews in my country, and they are good Jews, and they are not going to leave and go to Palestine. I do not want them to leave.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Here, too, the men who were oppressed came in, and still they were successful. The people that the other countries oppress—this same class of people that came here—will go there and they will be successful there.

Mr. CONNALLY. From what countries—Russia and Poland?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Russia, Poland, Galicia, Rumania, Turkey, and some from Germany, Austria, and even some Americans will go, too. We are now here engaged in collecting money to help those men to go there and to be able to build up the land. Those men that are oppressed will go there just because they are oppressed and will institute a new order of things. As America was the haven of people that were oppressed, so will be Palestine. The oppressed will do all they can to build it up.

Mr. MOORES. That interests me very much. You said that they were accused of kidnapping workmen in the colonies.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. MOORES. You are introducing immigration into Palestine of what sort of people—commercial people, manufacturing people, farmers, or what? I mean, those colonists who go there.

Mr. GOLDBERG. The Jewish people consist primarily of commercial people and manufacturers.

Mr. MOORES. They are mainly traders and manufacturers?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Right.

Mr. MOORES. Who does the hard work in the colony? Who manages the agriculture and runs the farms?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Many Jews are working there as farmers. We have an influx of Jews in Palestine from the ages of 17 to 35 who have gone there recently. We call them "Haluzim"—pioneers. They are coming there and building roads. I think you have heard here what Ramsey McDonald had to say about these men building roads, carrying stones, building.

Mr. MOORES. Those men are Jewish immigrants?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. MOORES. Who does the farm work?

Mr. GOLDBERG. These Jews have points where they are farming—in Galilia, in Judea—working in colonies. At the beginning some of the Jews employed Arab labor to some extent, and at certain times of the season they still employ Arab labor. But we have now 100,000 Jewish young men and women ready to go in and do the hardest work. It is phenomenal. It has no parallel in history. You may find them at the ports of Trieste, Vienna, Berlin, and Paris. These Jewish young men and women are ready to go in there, and many are in there already making homes, carrying stones, working very hard. The British Government, which had employed Egyptian labor until recently, is now taking Jews for this work.

Mr. MOORES. Are these Jews laborers there? Are these the workmen the Jews were accused of kidnapping?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No; they had Arab workmen. There are Arabs working in the Jewish colonies and there was always peace among them.

Mr. MOORES. Do not the colonists employ a great deal of Arab labor.

Mr. GOLDBERG. They do.

Mr. MOORES. Is not the majority of the labor Arab labor?

Mr. GOLDBERG. In the Judean colonies it was principally up to now, but now there are 100,000 Jewish young men and women who are ready to go in there. There is a little economic difficulty, because the Arab works much cheaper than the Jew. But we have people ready to go in there and work under most unfavorable conditions, and they will work the land.

Mr. MOORES. Has there been any trouble over wages between Arab workmen and Jewish workmen and the men who are managing the colonies?

Mr. GOLDBERG. As usual there are some troubles because the Jewish workmen ask more wages than the Arab.

Mr. MOORES. Has there been any trouble over wages with the Arabs?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No.

Mr. MOORES. Have the Arabs been discharged to make places for Jewish workmen?

Mr. GOLDBERG. In some places they were discharged after the massacres, because it was absolutely impossible to keep them any longer. For instance, take Petach Tikwah. When they were attacked by their workmen they had naturally to have protection. They had to take in more Jews and to protect themselves against attacks.

Mr. MOORES. Mr. Lipsky testified day before yesterday that the Arab labor is good and efficient.

Mr. GOLDBERG. It was good and efficient labor. The Arab is even now employed in the colonies—thousands of them.

Mr. MOORES. Have you discharged in the colonies good and efficient labor which was discharged so as to employ Jews at higher wages?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Who discharged?

Mr. MOORES. I mean the managers. Are you not one of the managers? Are you not connected with it? Are you not paid a salary?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Here is a colony where a man has a piece of land, his own land, and he is working it. He could discharge anyone he pleases and employ anyone he pleases. When it comes to public funds, national funds, let us say, a fund that was collected from the purses of everybody, that land is managed by the Zionist organization, because it belongs to the Zionist organization.

Mr. MOORES. Are those colonists capitalists? Do they pay their own labor?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes. Many of them have big farms.

Mr. MOORES. Do they not get their money from the management to maintain their farms?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No.

Mr. MOORES. It is their own investment?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes.

Mr. MOORES. And they pay their labor themselves?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes. There are two classes of colonists in Palestine. In Judea there are a number of colonies on a private basis. Every colonist has his own farm, his own orange grove, fig grove, raisins, almonds, an almond grove, vineyard, all his own. Of course, at the beginning it may have been given to him as a gift by somebody—by a rich Jew, by friends.

Mr. MOORES. They are largely given the land?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Some of them are given the land and some of them buy it themselves.

Mr. COCKRAN. This accusation that the Jews are kidnapping people, etc., is about as old as the persecution of the Jews. There never has been a time in this world that Jews were not accused of murdering children, running away with children, or some form of savagery. In fact, the Merchant of Venice is based on that. The Jew was never deprived of his property rights without first being deprived of character. There is nothing new in that description of conditions in Palestine.

Mr. GOLDBERG. It is one that recurs and recurs, and therefore the Jews are in danger.

Mr. COCKRAN. I am not asking about the recurrence. There has never been a time for 15 centuries when it has not occurred. If you know of any absolute invasion of the Jews' rights, personal property, are the things that you do know any more than what you have told us?

The CHAIRMAN. I have here a résumé of the report of the investigation of these disturbances in Palestine which gives the entire story. Do you know how many Arabs were killed in that fighting in Jaffa and other places?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Some of the Arabs were killed by the Government forces.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer my question. Can you give the number that were killed?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I do not know exactly the number.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, there were more Arabs killed than Jews, according to the British report.

Mr. GOLDBERG. There is one add't on to be made to that, if you will allow me, because you have the report here. There is a Government report. The Jews as such have not attacked anyone, but the police and the soldiers were a means of protection when, in some places, the Jews were surrounded by thousands of Arabs, and some Arabs were killed in order to quiet the country.

Mr. COCKRAN. It was an insurrection.

Mr. GOLDBERG. The insurrection was not by Jews. In the Government report you will find one instance told about a Jew killing an Arab in a most cruel way. I want to say that the population in Palestine denies it absolutely although there was justification here as the Jews were attacked and they had to defend themselves, but the population denies this case emphatically.

The CHAIRMAN. The report says that the immediate cause of the Jaffa riots on the 1st of May was an unauthorized demonstration by the Bolshevik Jews and the labor party. Was it a quarrel over the rights of labor or something of that sort?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Will you allow me to tell you exactly how it was?

Mr. COCKRAN. You are asked that.

Mr. GOLDBERG. There is an influx of labor from the eastern countries and you know quite well that some of them are Bolshevik. In Palestine, fortunately, there are less Bolsheviks proportionately than there are Bolsheviks in England or even in America. All together they number about 60. It is a small party of no significance. There is good reason to believe that the Russian Bolsheviks sent them in there to foment trouble. The Government was apprised of that. Every one that was in Palestine was actually extolling the fact that among the thousands of Jewish workmen there were so few Bolsheviks among them. Bolshevism is opposed to Zionism, opposed to nationalism, the Bolsheviks are satisfied in Russia and there is no reason for them to go to Palestine. A Jew who goes to Palestine recognizes the national principle, recognizes in a certain way tradition, loves the country, loves Palestine, is proud of the Bible. Otherwise, what is he doing there?

Mr. COCKRAN. And property.

Mr. GOLDBERG. And property. Consequently the Bolsheviks had no business there. There is good reason to believe they were sent there to foment trouble, not to disturb us exactly, but to disturb England. Again, I repeat, the Bolsheviks are against Zionism. In Russia, where the government is Bolshevik, they arrested Zionists, confiscated their property, suppressed their meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Am I to understand that the controversy on the 1st of May at Jaffa was between Bolshevik Jews and other Jews?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes; that was the start of the trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. The Arabs later got into it, and in this report of the Commission of Inquiry, page 29, from which I read, it states:

"Captain Hancock with two other officers and 40 other ranks of the Royal Field Artillery arrived at 5.30 p. m. He drew a cordon around that part of the Menshieh district which lies between the main street and the sea, a mixed Arab and Jewish district, mainly Arab."

Then it gives the casualties for that day—3 Arabs and 27 Jews. Continuing, I quote:

"The arrival of the troops had put an end to the riots for the time being and the night passed quietly. On the following morning, the 2d of May, crowds of Arabs began to collect and were dispersed. A part of the R. F. A. (Royal Field Artillery) found two families on whom the Jews had taken their revenge, retaliating for the wrongs of the day before. In the early morning Jews beat at the door of a house where an old Arab lived with his wife and baby and a small child, and when the door was opened shot the woman dead, wounding the baby with the same bullet. In the other case an Arab living with his wife and family was about to send away his family for greater security, when a party of Jews, led by a man whom the Arabs identified as a Jewish police sergeant from Tel Aviv, broke open the door. The Arab was shot in the stomach and beaten as he lay, and when his little daughter ran to her father her head was cleft by a blow from an ax. The woman was beaten and a boy wounded."

Was that when you were over there?

Mr. GOLDBERG. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have reason to doubt the correctness of that?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes; I doubt it very much. I want to call your attention to the fact that it was Arabs who identified them as Jews. That speaks for itself. In that very report it says that the Arabs identified him as a Jewish sergeant. Of course they identified him.

The CHAIRMAN. Following is a résumé of the investigation by the British Government of the disturbances in Palestine.

"The fundamental cause of the Jaffa riots and the subsequent acts of violence was a feeling among the Arabs of discontent with and hostility to the Jews, due to political and economic causes, and connected with Jewish immigration and with their conception of Zionist policy as derived from Jewish exponents.

"The immediate cause of the Jaffa riots on the 1st of May was an unauthorized demonstration of Bolshevik Jews, followed by its clash with an authorized demonstration of the Jewish labor party.

"The racial strife was begun by Arabs and rapidly developed into a conflict of great violence between Arabs and Jews, in which the Arab majority, who were generally the aggressors, inflicted most of the casualties.

"The outbreak was not premeditated or expected, nor was either side prepared for it, but the state of popular feeling made a conflict likely to occur on any provocation by any Jews.

"The general body of Jews is opposed to Bolshevism and was not responsible for the Bolshevik demonstration.

"When the disturbance had once begun an already acute anti-Jewish feeling extended it into an anti-Jewish riot. A large part of the Moslem and Christian communities condoned it, although they did not encourage violence. While certain of the educated Arabs appear to have incited the mob, the notables on both sides, whatever their feelings may have been, aided the authorities to allay the trouble.

"The police were, with few exceptions, half trained and inefficient, in many cases indifferent, and in some cases leaders of or participants in violence.

"The conduct of the military was admirable throughout.

"The raids on five Jewish agricultural colonies arose from the excitement produced in the minds of the Arabs by reports of Arabs having been killed by Jews in Jaffa. In two cases unfounded stories of provocation were believed and acted upon without any effort being made to verify them.

"In these raids there were few Jewish and many Arab casualties chiefly on account of the intervention of the military.

"This résumé is necessarily too condensed to be regarded as the expression of the conclusions of the commission, except when read in connection with the report."

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. It was stated here yesterday by a person that the policy of the English Government in Palestine was to give preference to Jews in the matter of the purchase of Crown lands and other lands, and in the matter of disposition of funds there. What have you to say to that? Is that true or not?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I have to say that this was thrown out merely as a suggestion to the Government because our problem is so unique and we have no land. Here are the Government Crown lands that stand idle. The Arabs are not in possession of those lands. If we are to buy every piece of land we would need billions. Our point therefore was that whereas this land is not occupied—it is



desolated—it should be distributed and given to those who are willing to work on it. Our proposition has not yet been accepted. But I am asking you, Would it be wrong to say that the land which is not occupied should be given to the Jews? We are not asking, God forbid, for the land that is occupied.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. I am not saying anything about the right or the wrong of it. It is a suggestion that has come that it is to be the policy in the enterprises to organize and develop the resources of the country, the water power, that there is a preference to be given to the Jew, which would mean a discrimination against the natives in the acquisition of the land. Is that a fact?

Mr. GOLDBERG. The name of Tolkowsky was mentioned here. He was speaking of Crown lands. He suggested to introduce a principle that anyone that goes to Palestine and is willing to work the land should have a chance to get it without money. The principle was not accepted, but we have been asking for it. We want something like the arrangement here with regard to homesteads which are given to those who work and cultivate the land. We asked that the land that once belonged to the Turkish Government, which came now in the hands of the British Government, should be distributed among those that are willing to work on it.

Mr. COOPER. Something like our old homestead law which settled up all our western territory.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Exactly. What is the sense of having the land idle? If a man is willing to work, give it to him.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. The gentleman said here yesterday, coming to a concrete case, mentioning the Crown lands, that if the Jew wished a certain area and a native wished a certain area, that the preference or option would be given to the Jew.

Mr. GOLDBERG. No.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. You take issue with that statement?

Mr. REED. That is simply a proposition made by Zionists?

Mr. GOLDBERG. It was a proposition. It was suggested by one man, an agriculturist, Tolkowsky, who said that if the Government is really in earnest to help the Jew to settle there, then it should give the Crown lands to every Jew who is willing to work, because even with free land millions will have to be spent to make it arable, to irrigate it, to plant it exactly as in California, having to wait five or six years to get something out of the soil. Then one must buy the inventory.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. You and the gentleman who spoke yesterday and the first person now agree that there has been no policy outlined which would involve any preference or discrimination; that only somebody had proposed it, but it was never accepted and put into effect.

Mr. GOLDBERG. Yes. I might say in addition, which is very interesting, that Governor Abrahamson has already divided some of that Crown land among the Arabs. The governor of Hebron has taken a good part of that Government land and given it to Arabs. That was the first thing done already. No Jew has ever got any piece of land from the Government for nothing.

Mr. FISH. Can you finish in three minutes?

Mr. GOLDBERG. I will finish immediately. I was asked a number of questions. I had no chance even to finish the argument I was going to make.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Is there any proposition to return this land taken over from the Arab owners by taxation, excessive taxation? Is there any proposition to permit them to have any right of preemption?

Mr. GOLDBERG. Who should have preemption rights?

Mr. MOORES. Arabs who have been deprived of land by excessive taxation.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I have told you of an instance where the land was given to them. There was no preemption in it.

Mr. MOORES. Have the Arabs been given any rights to return to their own old land taken from them by taxation, as we were told yesterday?

Mr. GOLDBERG. By whom?

Mr. MOORES. The Turks.

Mr. GOLDBERG. There is nothing of the kind. Altogether only 25 per cent of the area of Palestine is under cultivation, while 75 per cent of the land stands idle. As a matter of fact, the Jews have turned deserts into blooming gardens. Before the Jews took the land into their hands it was nothing but sand. The Jews drilled wells to irrigate the land; now we have oranges and beautiful vineyards there. I once took a walk near Hederah, where I was forced to wade in the sand. Then I saw a green oasis in the yellow desert, but when I came near I

found that it was the same sand. The Jew was only introducing a new order there, a new way of doing things. He had brought water to these desert spots, and as a result beautiful trees were sprouting there in the sand. That is what we have made the land for which we have paid heavily in money; we paid heavily for every inch of ground.

Mr. FISH. You may finish your statement.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I merely want to say I have prepared a certain argument which I can not carry out because of these interruptions.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I move that the gentleman have the right to place the balance of his argument in the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection he will be granted that privilege of extending his remarks in the record.

Mr. GOLDBERG. That would be satisfactory.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the privilege.

Mr. GOLDBERG. I am through now and I will leave here a written statement. I will take advantage of the privilege offered to me and I will prepare a statement in writing, but at the end I want only to emphasize that we understand this resolution to be an expression of sympathy on the part of the American Government with the right principle of adjusting a great injustice. We do not in any way intend, as we have already indicated, by our past experience, to suppress anybody, on the contrary, we want to live peacefully. What we have done up to now justifies our claim—we have established 40 colonies and every colony shows industry, thrift, and modern methods. We have established there an American medical unit and given medical aid without any distinction of race or of creed. Everybody was welcome. Everybody received the benefits of that medical unit, even those who have attacked us. Whatever we have done up till now we do not have to be ashamed of. We come here as Jews, as Americans, and our plea is in the name of justice, and at the same time we believe that as Americans and as Christians you will help us in this endeavor to establish Palestine as the Jewish home. It is something that is part of the belief of the world. Christians, too, believe in the return of the Jews to the ancient land. The Mohammedans, too, believe that some day the Jew will come back into his own country.

I, too, have an understanding of what Americanism means. I have a mental picture of what Americanism is. I hope it is the right picture. Americanism means America first, but America is also a land that not only gave refuge to the oppressed here, which we were doing all the time, but we also helped the oppressed of the world as far as we could by our moral aid. America has a record to be proud of. As was mentioned, the freedom of Greece was supported here; China got the stimulus for its independence here; Ireland's fight for liberty was stimulated here. All oppressed nationalities received assistance and aid here. That is the genuine Americanism. Now we come. No matter whether somebody does exaggerate the state of affairs in Poland, as the chairman asserted here, but we have statistics to prove that 338,000 Jews were killed in one year in the Ukraine, old men, women, and children. Nobody has denied that. They are fleeing from persecution and oppression everywhere and there is no country now on God's earth that is ready to open the door to them. We do not accuse anybody, but the fact remains that Canada and Australia are making laws not to allow immigrants to come in. Everywhere laws are passed which forbid them to come in. What is to be done? Palestine is our only hope, our only possibility. We wish to settle there where the Jewish people would have protection and an opportunity to develop their own culture, their own language, and their own traditions. In Palestine, wherever you go, you are met with the reminiscences of the Jewish glorious past, of the achievements of the Jew. What do we ask? We ask no special privileges. We simply ask that the Jew be allowed to go in unchecked and build up the land for their own benefit and for the benefit of everybody. What do our opponents say? Give this land, thinly populated and not occupied, desolated, and waiting for the possibility of development—give this land to the Arabian population so that it may pass restrictive immigration laws against the Jew. What does it mean? A law against the Jew to enter the Jewish land, a law for the Jew not to enter Jerusalem, Jaffa. Is there anything more sacrilegious being proposed? I have no words to express it. Not to allow the Jew to enter Bethlehem or Nazareth? It is unthinkable. We ask merely to allow the Jewish people to go and build their national home in the land where they have accomplished so much, made it what it stands for in history. I believe that you as the representatives of the American people will add another glorious page to the many beautiful

pages of the history of this country by passing this resolution. It does not mean entanglements, but simply an expression of moral encouragement on the part of our people to help the Jew to get into his own and live as one nation among the nations, almost all of which are now free. The only nation that is not free is the Jewish people. We want the Jewish people to obtain its freedom and we ask you to help us.

(The additional statement submitted by Mr. Goldberg is as follows):

#### ARE JEWS ENTITLED TO A HOMELAND?

It would be a waste of time to discuss the wording of the document called the Balfour declaration and argue how it was composed. The fundamental question is, are the Jews entitled to a homeland, to a place under the sun? We believe no man who wants to be just can deny the Jewish people this fundamental right. There are in the world now nearly 15,000,000 Jews. Whether you call them a people, a nationality, or a race is immaterial. There are 15,000,000 people distinguished by their religion, their history, and their mentality from the other peoples of the world. They are a distinct entity and as such are entitled to the privileges given to all the other groups designated by the term "Nations." The Jews were persecuted for more than eighteen centuries, and they have always dreamed and hoped that a day would come when they will return to their home, instead of being scattered and dispersed people, and some day would obtain a land or "the" land for themselves where they could live in peace as a distinct nationality and develop their own culture, in accordance with their tastes and desires, unmolested and free from oppression.

In the last war the Jewish people suffered more than any other people in the world, considering their numbers. They not only lost hundreds of thousands of young men on the battle fields, as they participated on all fronts, but nearly one-half a million were killed, maimed, butchered or ravaged in the lands of Eastern Europe, particularly in Ukraine.

As a result of the war, many oppressed nationalities have obtained their freedom. Jews have contributed in a great measure to the victory of the Allies. They not only helped with their blood and treasure, but also, which is not so much known, with their genius in perfecting the weapons of victory. It is probably not known to many that the idea of camouflage which helped the Allies to run the seas more safely and escape the destructive powers of the German U-boats was contributed by a Jew—Solomon J. Solomon. It is known what the tank has done for the Allies. In the last stages of the war it was the tank that saved the Allies from utter destruction. This tank was invented by Sir Albert Stern. The anti gas fan was also a Jewish invention. Mrs. Ayrton was responsible for this. We therefore believe that when the Allies made their promise to us that if victory crowned their efforts the Jews would get recognition and their land returned to them, it was not only an act of justice but a reward for their various activities and large contributions.

#### PALESTINE ANCESTRAL HOMELAND OF JEWISH PEOPLE.

We cannot deal here with dogmas but with historic facts.

Palestine is the ancestral homeland of the Jewish people. They were driven from it by force by the relentless Roman military machine and for centuries prevented from returning. But Palestine has ever since remained a hope, a longing, as expressed in prayers of 1,853 years. Whenever opportunities were given them they managed to return, small in number, if only to die there.

No other people has ever claimed Palestine as their national home. No other people has ever shown an aptitude or indicated a genuine desire to make it their homeland. The land has been ruled by foreigners. Only since the beginning of the modern Zionist effort may it be said that a creative, cultural, and economic force has entered Palestine.

Under such circumstances, on what plea of justice can it be argued that the Jewish claim to enter Palestine peacefully, under protection of international law, to build their national home there by their labor and their sacrifices should be denied?

With equality under the law for every individual, with recognition of the rights of all nationalities, what objection can there be to provide the opportunities that will enable the Jewish people, sorely pressed, to fill up the waste places of Palestine, bring labor and capital into the land, by purchase to acquire property and the facilities for development?

## BRITISH POLICY IN PALESTINE AND EAST INCLUDES WITHIN ITS BENEFICENCE ALSO THE ARABS.

The Balfour declaration was a pledge made to the Jews in the midst of the war in accord with allied policy, but at the same time pledges were made to the Arabs, which have been kept.

The Hedjaz Kingdom was established in ancient Arabia, with the father of Prince Feisel as King. The French mandate in Syria provides for recognition of the rights of Arab nationality. Mesopotamia, which alone is capable, under the Willcocks irrigation plan, of absorbing 30,000,000 people, also provides for Arab national rights. The homeland of the Arabs is in Arabia. Their centers are Mecca and Medina. They also have flourishing cultural and political centers in Damascus, Bagdad, and Cairo. On the other hand, Palestine has never been an Arab center. There are Mohammedan shrines there, but Christian ones as well, and certainly Jewish ones.

## PALESTINE IS PRACTICALLY UNOCCUPIED.

The entire present population of Palestine occupies only 25 per cent of the arable land. The balance is unused. It can be made habitable for 6,000,000. The present population, whether of Jews or Arabs, stands only to profit by the efforts of the Jews of the world to establish a haven of refuge for the dispossessed of the Jewish race. Certainly it will be no injustice toward the present Arab population, whose land and other property and opportunities for business will be greatly enhanced by the new developments projected by the Jewish people.

The value of the land owned by Arabs has increased fivefold during the past three years. Every purchase of land by Jews means adding to the wealth of the Arabs. Every industry established in Palestine means not diminution of Arab wealth but its increase.

## BALFOUR DECLARATION NOT SECRET DIPLOMACY.

The Balfour declaration was written by Lord Milner, advised by Mr. Balfour and by outstanding official representatives of the American Government, and was approved in advance by many others. It was drawn very carefully. Naturally, the Jews who were to be the beneficiary of this document were consulted. Many formulas were suggested. Not every suggestion was incorporated. It was a process of elimination until the happy formula was found. The declaration assures the Jews the possibility to build a national home in their own land, but clauses which guarantee the civil and political rights of other inhabitants were inserted. The Zionist press discussed in the open the implications of the Balfour declaration, told the story of how the agreement was reached; nothing was concealed. The Jewish nationality may justly lay the claim that it was among the first to practice open diplomacy. The British Government consulted in this matter not only with the Jewish representatives but also with accredited Arabian representatives and with the Arabian nationality; not with the Palestinian Arabians, since they are only a part of the Arabian nationality. In dealing with the representatives of the Arab nationality the Palestine Arabians were also included. It is sheer nonsense to assert that Arabians were not consulted. On the contrary, it was due to this constant consultation with Arabian chieftains and rulers that the Arabian Kingdom was recognized; that Mesopotamia was handed to them as a land, where in addition to Arabia they could develop their national genius.

## ZIONIST CLAIMS NOT NEW AND NOT UNKNOWN TO ARABS.

The Zionist platform was promulgated in 1897. It is the same to-day as it was then. It is no secret. Negotiations with regard to Basle platform were carried on by Theodor Herzl with Turkey, with England, with Italy, and with Germany. It is well known that the Sultan was prepared to sell certain large concessions to the Jewish people, but was prevented by influences that had selfish intentions with regard to Palestine. At that time the Arabs raised no outcry, made no threats, organized no attacks.

The Balfour declaration set the seal of its approval to the aspiration of the Jewish people for a homeland wherein they could establish their culture, maintain their religion without oppression, and practice the arts of peace, and

maintain justice. The Balfour declaration expressed the high idealism of the Allied Powers. It was approved by the American Government through President Wilson, because the American Government was then a party in interest with the allied European Governments.

#### ARABS IN PALESTINE LOSE NO RIGHTS, BUT GAIN MUCH.

Since the Balfour declaration and the entrance of the British into Palestine, privileges never before enjoyed by Arabs in Palestine have been granted. The Arabic language is recognized as one of the official languages. Arabs are a majority on the advisory council of the high commissioner. They have national group rights. The Moslem religion is given official recognition. They are well represented in the personnel of the Palestine administration. Municipalities in which Arabs are in the majority are practically Arabian units. They share in the prosperity which has been brought to Palestine by the Jewish people, and they are now enjoying for the first time the benefits of liberty under laws that are fairly and without discrimination administered by the Palestine government.

#### JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS IN PALESTINE BEFORE AND DURING THE WAR.

It would need more time than I am permitted here to enumerate all the achievements that came as a result of Jewish effort and endeavor in the land which was barren and desolate. There should be mentioned here only a few items. The Jews have established 46 flourishing colonies on a soil, which, before the Jews reclaimed it, was merely sandstone and swamps. Now, after Jewish labor and money has been invested in it, it has been turned into beautiful gardens that call for the admiration of every visitor to the Holy Land, and even the opponents of a Jewish Palestine can not refrain from praising this great accomplishment. With the Jew came into the land modern schools, light, and progress; a modern system of sanitation was introduced in many places; hospitals were opened, which treated the sick without discrimination of race or creed; a technical institute and two high schools were established, and lately the foundation for a national university was laid. Many new industries and important banks were founded. During the war, in spite of the oppression of the Turks, Jewish activities and Jewish sacrifices were not halted. American Jews utilizing their advantageous position, jumped into the breach and came to the assistance of the population in Palestine and dispensed their favors without discrimination as to religion or nationality. The schools were maintained. A medical unit, equipped most modernly, was sent into the land. New colonies were established. Pioneers were brought in. Men and women between the ages of 17 and 35 joyfully did the hardest labor with only one aim in view—to see this land rebuilt. They are breaking stones, making roads, drying swamps, planting trees, tilling the soil, carrying the log. The most crushing work is not too hard for them. There is the sparkle of joy in their eyes, and the hardest labor is accompanied by Hebrew melodies and songs. They are happy. It is a holy work. They are rebuilding the Holy Land for a people which, though it has some just claim to holiness, as it gave to the world so many prophets and religions, still was treated through the ages as a thing unworthy.

The last great plan that is in the process of realization is the plan of electrification—the plan which contemplates harnessing the waters of the Jordan in order that Palestine might have electric light and power and the land may be industrialized.

#### SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE RIGHT OF THE JEWS TO REESTABLISH A HOMELAND OF THEIR OWN.

To give their right to the Jewish people means that to build their homeland in Palestine conditions are to be created which shall enable the Jewish people to achieve this approved object. Self-determination is a principle which does not come into play in that territory where the program of Jewish national repatriation is to be carried out. In order to realize their legitimate desires the Jewish people must be given protection. They can not, dispersed as they are, organize for the economic development of Palestine unless they have the assurance that what they build will be protected and fostered until they are strong enough to protect it themselves. The British Government has made a

sincere effort to establish such rules and formulas for administrative action that will give that assurance to the Jewish people. They have been going slowly. Zionists have contributed a great deal of thought to the problems involved. The right and the just way will be found, but it can only be found if it is conceded that the object is just and fair. The friendly cooperation of the Arabs resident in Palestine can not be expected at this time. They are inspired by excessive chauvinism. They are excited to attacks upon life and property. They would, if given power, prevent Jewish immigration, prevent economic development by Jews. Witness three riots since the Balfour declaration. Witness appeals to the Palestine government to shut off all immigration. Witness objections to purely economic concessions which they are unable to take up principally because these concessions have been offered to Jewish interests. There must be a trustee to act for the Jewish people, to protect the ward, to prevent unfairness and the frustration of the Jewish homeland; and this is covered by the mandate, which is merely another word for trusteeship, offered to the British people.

#### NO FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENT.

For the United States Government to approve the doing of a good deed does not mean that it becomes responsible for it. This resolution means for the Jewish people what the Irish resolution meant for the Irish.

It does not mean military or naval appropriation. It does not vote any supplies. It makes a draft, however, upon the idealism of America, its interest and sympathy with oppressed peoples, its longing to see liberty and justice established on earth.

The following are excerpts from official report issued by the Government of Palestine of the riot in Jerusalem which occurred on April 4, 1920; Jaffa, May 1, 2, 3, and 4; Kefr Saba and Ain Hai, May 3; and in Petach Tikvah on May 5, 1921:

At 9 a. m. on the morning of April 4 the usual band of Hebron pilgrims to the feast of Habi Moussa entered Jerusalem, to the accompaniment of sword brandishing, shouting, and dancing \* \* \*. Several notables, including the Sheikh of Hebron, began to harangue the crowd. The speeches, coupled with a display of the portrait of King Feisel, soon worked up the excited audience to a dangerous pitch of enthusiasm, and suddenly the window of a Jewish shop was shattered and stones commenced to fly. The crowd swept through the Jaffa Gate into the old city, brutally attacking the Jewish passers-by and methodically looting the Jewish shops. The Jewish casualties numbered 170. Significant is the fact that children and aged people together constituted 50 per cent of the injured. It is noteworthy that there were simultaneous attacks in three different Jewish quarters of the old city, and for two hours the infuriated mob was free to wreak their worst on helpless victims, of whom so heavy a toll was taken.

Sinister rumors and blood-curdling threats of massacre continued for the succeeding days to disturb the Jewish population, but as each rumor proved baseless and each alarm was dissipated the feeling of surety returned.

#### JAFFA RIOTS, MAY 1, 2, 3, AND 4, 1921.

The disturbances dealt with in this report began with a riot in Jaffa on Sunday, the 1st of May, 1921, followed by serious acts of violence in the same town on the two succeeding days, and local attacks on Jewish agricultural colonies on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of that week. To the same group of events belong sporadic anti-Jewish manifestations which occurred in Jaffa during June and as late as July.

There is a large house and courtyard next to the French hospital, which is known as the Immigration House, and is used as a shelter for newly arrived immigrants, who are cared for in that place until work is found for them, under the control of the Zionist Commission, and has been a useful institution. At the time of the raid in this house there were in the building about 100 immigrants, men and women; most of these people were young men. The invaders broke through the doors and looted a part of the interior yard. They broke into the main floor of the main building and into the other buildings; men who sought refuge by running into the street were beaten to death by the crowd. Others were killed inside the courtyard. The invaders came in

through all the entrances when the defense had broken down. Perhaps the most revolting incident was the conduct of one of the Arab policemen. He was at first regarded by the women as the protector, but he took advantage of the prevailing terror to rob them of their small possessions and to two he made indecent advances, telling them that he was a Jew, with threats of violence if they refused to comply with his demands. The toll of dead and wounded in the gruesome episode of the Immigration House was 13 killed and 24 wounded. Looters, male and female, had been stealing linen from the washhouse and whatever other articles they could find that had not been disturbed.

On May 2 a horrible murder was disclosed during the afternoon. Mr. Brenner, a Jewish author of some repute, was living with five other Jews in an isolated house off the Ramleh Road. On this day 13 Jews were killed and 26 wounded. A group of Jewish houses near the German colony, was entirely looted on Monday. The inhabitants had fled. On May 3, three Jews were killed and four wounded. Early on Wednesday morning, the 4th of May, a party of 150 immigrants had to be removed from the docks to Tel Aviv for safety.

Later on an angry crowd collected in the square. There was a story current of two children who had been murdered by Jews. The crowd surged down Boustrous Street, bound for the German colony of Tel Aviv, but were headed off by Major Pery-Knox-Gore, who was in a motor car and persuaded them to return. The children were afterwards found unhurt.

As this eventful week drew to its close actual disturbances of the peace ceased, but public uneasiness was by no means at an end. The hostility of the Arabs showed itself in a refusal to sell their provisions to Jews.

During June there were occasional ebullitions of feeling, showing that passions had not yet subsided. On the 13th of June an Arab ran amok in a Jewish shop in Menshieh, killing two Jews and wounding others. The Arab was arrested and found by a medical board to be insane.

Certain elements of the Arab population, particularly the boatmen, displayed a truculent attitude toward the landing of Jews, not of the immigrant class, at Jaffa, and several Jewish passengers were compelled to disembark at other ports. This attitude culminated on the 30th of June in a serious incident, thus described in a communique issued by the Government:

"A ship arrived on the 30th of June, carrying 10 Palestinian Jews from Beirut. The officer commanding at Jaffa, which is still under martial law, had been instructed by the high commissioner to insure the landing of the passengers, but in doing so not to use more force than was necessary. The approaches to the quay were accordingly picketed. The colonel commandant reports that the passengers were landed without incident, but as the pickets were about to return to their billets the Arabs suddenly attacked one of the pickets near the town square, and simultaneously shots were fired at the picket, one of which, directed from the roof of a house, killed an Arab standing behind the picket, and another Arab, who had seized a soldier's rifle, was seriously wounded. The troops fired in retaliation, wounding an Arab, while another Arab was wounded as the result of attacking a sentry in the Menshieh quarter. So far no other casualties have been reported, and this afternoon the town was quiet."

About 9 a. m. on the 7th of July a Jew was shot dead in the Ajami main street, one of the principal thoroughfares of the town, approximately half way between the main square and the immigration house.

In their most dangerous manifestations, and as bringing about a temporary breakdown of civil government, the Jaffa riots may be regarded as confined to those waves of popular violence which flooded certain parts of the town of Jaffa on the 1st of May. Many acts of violence were perpetrated during the following day and in lessening degree on Tuesday; and in a wider sense one may say that the Jaffa riots were not at an end until the afternoon of the 3d of May.

But the disturbances set up in Jaffa during those three days reacted in other directions. Its effect in Samaria as far as Nablus and the anti-Jewish raid on the colony of Khedera, which lies within the district of Phoenicia, have been described in our interim report on the Khedera episode. In the Jaffa district four more Jewish colonies were attacked. \* \* \*

When, on the 6th of May, Kefr Saba was visited, it was found that two houses had been burned and the remainder robbed of their roofs, windows, and floors. One house was entirely destroyed, together with a pump and engine, and much damage had been done to cultivation. A visit to Ain Hai on the same date disclosed the destruction of that colony.

## KHEDERA RAID, MAY 6, 1921.

On the 6th of May, 1921, a raid was made from neighboring villages upon Khedera. The lives of the colonists were saved by the arrival of an airplane, but two houses were burned and 14 houses were wholly or partially ransacked. Much cattle is said to have been stolen. \* \* \* It has been said that what the Arabs really want is loot; that when there is trouble they take advantage of it to pillage; that this love of pillage is at the bottom of every anti-Jewish movement. \* \* \* In this case it is clear that the colonists had done nothing whatsoever to provoke an attack. The armed crowd that proceeded to raid them intended to kill and loot, and it is a pity that they were not firmly handled before they had the opportunity of doing damage. The raiders can not be excused because they believed a preposterous story without examination. There was nothing to prevent them from discovering the truth about the alleged detention of the laborers.

We express no opinion as to the amount of damage. It has been put to us at about £27,000. There is a prima facie case against the villages of Tulkeram and Kakon because armed mobs proceeded from those places to attack the colony. If the inhabitants consider that by being thus singled out they are unjustly victimized, the remedy lies with them; they have only to show what other persons or communities are involved in the same crime and ought to share the same responsibility. In a different degree responsibility lies upon the camp of the Wadi Hawaret Bedouin. Not only was loot found in that camp, but there is other evidence which associates them with the raid.

## ATTACK ON PETACH TIKVAH.

Petach Tikvah is a large Jewish colony about 7 miles northeast of Jaffa. The Arabs made two attacks on the colony, one from the north and the other from the south. The Jewish casualties, as reported by the medical authorities, was 12 wounded and 4 dead.

## THE EVENTS OF THE 2D OF NOVEMBER, 1921.

So, on Wednesday morning, the Jews went quietly to their business, and relying on the assurance of the Government, opened their shops. But, in spite of the promises given to the governor of Jerusalem, every Arab shop was shut. In the streets a feeling of general excitement and unrest was manifest. Arabs were moving around conspicuously toying with sticks and clubs. \* \* \* Between 9 and 9.30 about a hundred hooligans and small boys gathered by the Jaffa Gate, and shouting out all manner of anti-Jewish slogans, started to proceed in the direction of the post office. Between 11.30 and 12 the Arab demonstrators tried to penetrate into the Jewish quarters. Five policemen who were on the spot tried to put up some resistance, but some of the Arabs began using firearms. The result of the day's riots was 4 Jews killed, 8 seriously wounded, and 20 slightly wounded.

At 2 o'clock on the same day, the English artist, Mr. Snowman, on leaving his rooms in the Damascus Gate, was stabbed by an Arab while going peacefully through the gate. Near him another Jew was badly wounded by a knife wound in the back. Mr. Zalman Rubin, head of the Ashkanazi Community, was seriously wounded in different parts of the body.

## AMERICAN INTERESTS IN PALESTINE.

The following are some of the more important interests of American Zionists in Palestine:

## THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND.

The Jewish National Fund, whose aim is to acquire land in Palestine, has contributed toward that end in the past five years more than one-half a million dollars; previous to that, in round figures, about \$300,000.

## THE PALESTINE RESTORATION FUND.

The Palestine Restoration Fund contributed in the past five years \$4,900,000.



## THE PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND.

The Palestine Foundation Fund, known as Keren Hayesod, has already contributed \$1,500,000. There is now a campaign in progress to raise \$6,000,000 for this year.

## AMERICAN ZIONIST MEDICAL UNIT.

The American Zionist Medical Unit maintains three hospitals and a dispensary and clinic in the more densely populated districts of Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Safed. The upkeep of the hospital, clinics, and dispensaries approximates \$400,000 a year.

The Joint Distribution Committee, which contributes \$12,500 a month toward the medical and sanitary work in Palestine, also cares for orphan children, numbering 2,655, at a cost of £5,000, equivalent in American money to \$2,300 per month.

## AMERICAN ZION COMMONWEALTH.

The American Zion Commonwealth is an American corporation with a membership of 5,000 and a total subscription of over \$3,000,000. The purpose of this corporation is to buy and develop land in Palestine for its members—and their friends, whenever such members can not take personal possession of their lands. The company has already purchased 8,000 dunam land (a dunam of land is one-fourth of an acre), upon which they expended for buildings and development of land \$275,000.

Within several months they will be in a position to settle 100 families in the Colony Balfouria, which has been developed by American methods and with American machinery.

## AMERICAN PALESTINE FRUIT GROWERS' ASSOCIATION.

This corporation has invested over \$125,000 in Palestine and has a very large membership. They have erected a fruit packing and canning warehouse in Petach Tikvah and are now considering plans for the erection of another such building in an adjacent colony.

## MARBADIA (CARPET COMPANY).

The Marbadia (carpet-weaving company) was organized for the purpose of developing the carpet-weaving industry in Palestine. They have invested about \$25,000. A number of carpets have appeared on exhibition in New York and Philadelphia.

## NATIONAL STRUCTURAL SUPPLY CO.

This corporation was organized for the purpose of manufacturing building materials and to construct houses in Palestine. They have invested over \$50,000.

## ACHOOZA ALEPH.

Achooza Aleph is composed of a group of American Zionists, organized for the purpose of forming a Palestine cooperative colony. They have invested several thousand dollars and own a considerable amount of land.

## POREAH.

The Poreah was organized for the purpose of creating a cooperative unit for the colonization of land in Palestine. This is one of the earliest cooperative groups and is composed mostly of American Jews who live in the West. Its center is St. Louis, Mo.

There is an indication that during the coming 12 months the amount to be invested will reach several millions. The following new concerns will probably be opened during this year: (1) American Hotel Corporation, (2) Central Mortgage Bank, (3) Urban Mortgage Bank, (4) Industrial Bank of Zionist Organization, (5) Industrial Bank (private).

## AMERICAN-DANISH FURNITURE FACTORY, JERUSALEM.

The factory has been started about a year ago.

The concern is run on up-to-date lines and worked exclusively by machinery. Over \$50,000 were invested in plant, materials, etc.

There are a number of other American corporations in Palestine, and Palestine corporations in which American Jews are interested. There are several thousand American Jews residing in Palestine. The interest of American Jews in the development of Palestine is manifested in their participation in industrial enterprises and in the numbers who reside there.

Mr. FISH. Congressman Larson of Minnesota wants to submit a few telegrams.

Mr. LARSON. I will do it at the session to-morrow morning.

The CHAIRMAN. We will meet again this afternoon and try to finish with everybody.

Mr. CONNALLY. Did the committee intend to resume with the gentleman from Yale again to-day, or on Monday?

Mr. REED. I am here, but there are a few half civilized Arabs here who would like to speak.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; we will hear them.

## STATEMENT OF REV. ISAAC LANDMAN. LAWRENCE, LONG ISLAND.

The CHAIRMAN. The Rev. Isaac Landman is here with a letter of introduction from our colleague from California. You may proceed.

Doctor LANDMAN. I live in Lawrence, Long Island. I am a Rabbi. I am editor of the American Hebrew. I am an American citizen. I was born in Russia. I am here—the best explanation for my being here is the remark that this gentleman made before I had uttered a word. There is an organization, the Zionist Organization, that has been going around the country for some years giving a wrong impression concerning the attitude of the Jews toward Palestine concerning the attitude of the Jews toward the countries in which they live. This is the second time this morning that you were told about certain Jews who were traitors, because they differed in opinion with the Zionists. The first time is in the record. You were also told that there are a number of reform Jews in this country who do not count. Well, I am one that belongs to that class.

Let me say at the outset that no Jew in America or elsewhere is opposed to the restoration of Palestine. When President Wilson left for Paris, there was a document handed to him by Mr. Kahn. This document called forth the ire of a little group of serious politicians who head the Zionist organization of America. This document was signed by about 275 leading Americans. In this document, at the time when the opposition to Zionism among Jews in America was very great and active, though not organized—this opposition is not organized to-day because no Jews want to harm in any way the rebuilding of Palestine—is set forth the thought that the idea which had been conveyed by the Zionist organizations, that the Jews living all over the world form a nation in a political sense, was not in accordance with the thought of the signers of the statement, who, indeed, represent the thought of the majority of Jews in America. We resent the idea that the Jews constitute a nation.

Mr. FISH. Do you maintain that the majority of the Jews are opposed to this proposition?

Doctor LANDMAN. Are opposed to political Zionism, to the idea that the Jews all over the world constitute a nation.

Mr. FISH. Then I would like you to account for the fact that there are in Congress representing Jewish districts from New York City five Congressmen, all of whom are ready to testify, I believe, or have testified, that their constituencies are practically unanimous in favor of this particular legislation, or, rather, to a resolution favoring the establishment of a national home in Palestine for the Jewish people.

Doctor LANDMAN. If you will not feel that I am casting slurs, I want to say that behind these resolutions is a very serious political mistake, a mistake of politicians. Certain Zionist leaders have given the impression to certain politicians that they represent the Jewish vote. Now, there is no such thing as a Jewish vote. There are men within the organization who are opposed to the nationalist element in Zionism, but do not want to withdraw from the organization for the reason that they do not want to do anything to harm the rebuilding of Palestine any more than any other Jews. Included in

the Zionist organization are men, women, and children who will not vote for 10 or 20 years. There are only 30,000 members in the Zionist organization on the authority of the organization itself. In a circular recently issued by the Zionist Organization of America, they pleaded for additional members. Part of it reads as follows:

"If you will secure a minimum of two members before April 25, the date on which the League of Nations meets to consider the Palestine mandate, our membership will reach the 100,000 mark."

That is the answer.

Mr. FISH. Not at all.

Doctor LANDMAN. It is.

Mr. FISH. Do you not believe in this resolution? I am sure the Zionist organization sincerely believes in it. And so do the overwhelming majority of Jews in this country.

Doctor LANDMAN. No Jew is opposed to the rebuilding of Palestine.

Mr. FISH. How would they go about rebuilding, if not by this method?

Doctor LANDMAN. They would go about rebuilding Palestine in the way the Jews who represent the signers of this statement have urged again and again.

Mr. FISH. What way?

Doctor LANDMAN. Without politics. Palestine should be rebuilt economically until it becomes an independent State. The politicians are creating dissension. We have politicians—I am talking about professional politicians, who are Jewish politicians. If they had not created all the difficulties in Palestine by their constant exaggeration, just such exaggerations as were made on the floor here this morning—if they had not done so, there never would have been riots in Palestine. We know that England can govern colonies; we know if the Jews were left alone in Palestine, and with the tremendous amount of assistance which the Jews of the world would give them, and if there were no politics, Palestine would be rebuilt rapidly, safely, soundly.

Mr. COOPER. What do you mean by politics?

Mr. COCKRAN. I think the idea is that the English shall continue to protect.

Mr. COOPER. Some Jews get in bad there.

Doctor LANDMAN. The same as here or anywhere else.

Mr. COCKRAN. It would appear that under those conditions that you would not get sanction enough; that would leave an opening to oppression or assault by natives, especially to exclude them or shut them out?

Doctor LANDMAN. No; nobody in the world would do that.

Mr. COCKRAN. Then your position is an objection to the methods of this Jewish organization called Zionists?

Doctor LANDMAN. In that their methods are harmful to rebuilding Palestine.

Mr. COCKRAN. There would not be anything, according to your view—any objection to this resolution which simply expresses hope.

Doctor LANDMAN. This resolution does not really mean a single thing.

Mr. COCKRAN. You would not object to it.

Doctor LANDMAN. In Congress a lot of resolutions are passed for one reason or another that have really no definite meaning. Of course, in the political light I can see the object of this resolution, but I need not discuss that here.

Mr. FISH. If you would ask the gentleman if he believes in the Balfour resolution, we might all agree without any further discussion.

Mr. COCKRAN. I will just put it that way. You do not object to the Balfour declaration, do you?

Doctor LANDMAN. I object to the Balfour declaration because it presumes to establish Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people. The Balfour declaration is written into the mandate as it is at present drawn. In the mandate the Zionist organization is declared to be the sole agency which shall be consulted by the mandatory with reference to the conditions in Palestine; and those Jews who are opposed to Jewish nationalism, to the doctrine that the Jews constitute a political entity, can not cooperate in the upbuilding of Palestine. As long as the point of view is held that the Jews are a nation, as long as there is a political side to Zionism, then the economic progress of Palestine is retarded.

Mr. COCKRAN. Your criticism of Zionism is that it obstructs the purposes which it seeks?

Doctor LANDMAN. Absolutely.

Mr. COCKRAN. There is another thing that simplifies the situation. This situation as it stands over there now, as I understand it, involves some method or other by which the freedom of the Jews to come in there and acquire prop-

erty by purchase and work shall be maintained and they be guarded and protected in the enjoyment of whatever they produce, regardless of whether they have a majority or not?

Doctor LANDMAN. Certainly. The only thing that we are opposed to is, for instance, that a man should stand up here and plead with the Representatives of America in Congress for certain things to be given or to be done for the Jewish nationality when there is no such thing.

Mr. COCKRAN. You do not deny it is a race?

Doctor LANDMAN. That is a very different proposition.

Mr. COCKRAN. It is still a Jewish family. It is a family, is it not?

Doctor LANDMAN. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is even closer than a nation.

Doctor LANDMAN. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess until 3 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 1.30 o'clock p. m., the committee recessed until 3 o'clock p. m., Thursday, April 20, 1922.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

The committee reconvened, pursuant to the taking of the recess, at 3 o'clock p. m., Hon. Stephen G. Porter (chairman) presiding.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. MARTIN C. ANSORGE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Mr. ANSORGE. Mr. Chairman, I only want to take a few moments of the committee's valuable time.

In the first place, I want to second the statement made yesterday by the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fish, that there are a great many Hebrews who are not actively affiliated with the Zionist movement who are in thorough sympathy and accord with the heartbeats and yearnings of the Zionists for a restoration of a homeland in Palestine.

I also want to say that I had the pleasure and the honor of attending at the British Embassy several months ago when Mr. Balfour—now Lord Balfour—addressed the Zionists, and although the Balfour declaration was proclaimed in 1917, during the heat of the war, Mr. Balfour on that occasion voiced the same sentiments as are contained in the Balfour declaration. In other words, in 1922 Mr. Balfour feels as he did in 1917.

I have here a small booklet, Mr. Chairman, which is published by the Palestine foundation fund in New York. It is addressed to the workers of the Zionist fund, and I just want to read a very short paragraph from this booklet.

It says:

"Forty centuries of history close with this question. Will you, Jews of America, redeem the Holy Land?"

"The promise that was made 4,000 years ago is to be fulfilled through you, or is to remain unfulfilled.

"You are the guardians of Jewish history to-day. With you Jewish history ends, or through you it begins a new and glorious chapter.

"Forty centuries of history are watching you to-day. The far-off generations look to you out of the twilight of the past. The warriors and prophets and teachers of ancient Judea are watching you. The martyrs of Spain and Poland and Russia, they who died that our people might live, are watching you. The young heroes who fell on a hundred fields in the great war are watching you. The victims of a hundred pogroms, men and women and children, are watching you.

"In the eyes of all of them there is the single question: 'Will the land of our fathers be restored to our people, or have we lived and died in vain?'"

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that this Fish resolution, which is merely a word of encouragement to this movement, should be fostered by the Congress of the United States, and I want to join with the others who have appeared before this committee in respectfully recommending that on behalf of the numerous Hebrews in my district and in the city of New York who are thoroughly in sympathy with this resolution the committee report it favorably.

Mr. LANTHICUM. Could we hear Professor Reed now, Mr. Chairman? We asked him to remain over that we might hear him.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to finish with our last witness before we hear anyone else. Does anybody desire to ask the Reverend any questions. If not, that will end it.

Now, you want to hear Mr. Reed, do you?

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Reed had said that he would remain over so that I could hear him on the mandate. I am interested to know what connection this would have with the mandate of Great Britain over Palestine.

Mr. MOORES. It strikes me that is very important.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I think so. That is an important feature to me.

The CHAIRMAN. We will hear Professor Reed now.

**STATEMENT OF PROF. EDWARD BLISS REED, OF NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Resumed.**

Professor REED. Gentlemen, I wish to say that if you pass this Fish resolution you indorse the Balfour declaration, because that is what this resolution virtually is. It is stated a little more plainly, or absolutely plainly, in the Senate concurrent resolution. If you indorse the Balfour declaration, you are caught absolutely in the mandate. That is what I want to show to-day.

In the twelfth of his fourteen points President Wilson stated as follows:

"Nationalities which are under Turkish rule should be assured of continued security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development."

Now, gentlemen, if language can convey any meaning whatever, the inhabitants of Palestine and Syria were led to believe that America proposed for them freedom and some degree at least of self-determination.

Now we come from what the President wishes to what the league says. The mandate is given by the League of Nations, and what I want to warn you against is getting caught by the mandate in what I consider an impasse. It will bring disaster on this country of Palestine. That is why I am here, Mr. Goldberg. If you want to know what I am getting out of it, I will show you my mail. I am getting some extraordinary things out of it. I am here because I want to prevent my country from doing something that will bring it untold trouble. That is why I am here; let us have that understood.

Now I want to go ahead and show you what you are going to get in for if you pass this Fish resolution. The text of article 22 of the League of Nations is in part as follows:

"To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant."

In other words, that is very nice on the face of it.

The mandate is given for the well-being and development of certain peoples. If a mandate is given for Palestine, it is given for the well-being of Palestine. [Continuing reading:]

"The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations, who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the league.

"The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other circumstances."

Now, here comes this point:

"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as individual nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone."

That applies, as it states, to communities under the Turkish Empire. It shows that they are to be helped:

"The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the mandatory power."

These communities include the Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria. And their wishes must be a principal consideration in the mandatory power.

A mandatory for a community previously under the Turks must do two things: It must guide them, it must not submerge them until they have enough power to

go on, and it must consult their wishes. You can not possibly get anything else out of that but those two points. The Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Syria, with Palestine, were the four communities involved under that. I need not ask you which were the better advanced in civilization, the Hedjaz and Mesopotamia or Palestine and Syria. There is no question; there is no comparison between Beirut and Mecca. There is no comparison between Jerusalem and Bagdad. If there were any two of the four territories under the Turks that ought to have some voice in their government, it was Syria and Palestine; and the most backward were the Hedjaz and Mesopotamia.

You know what happened. The two that are not having one single word to say about their government are the two advanced nations—I will not say nations; I should say the two advanced communities—Syria and Palestine, while the Hedjaz and Mesopotamia have been allowed to state what they want. They are practically standing on their own feet and the two more healthful ones are not.

Gentlemen, that is an absolute violation of the mandate; and if you go into the mandate, through this resolution, the first thing you do is to break the mandate, because you take up the plan of the Zionist organization.

Now, I want to show you a curious thing. While the peace conference was going on there was a very strong Zionist delegation at Paris, which consisted of some of their very ablest men, including Professor Frankfurter and Professor Weizmann.

Mr. LIPSKY. Professor Frankfurter was not there.

Professor REED. He was not? Well, I withdraw that; but Doctor Weizmann was there; and it is a correct statement that there was a very strong Zionist delegation at Paris and Palestinians got a little bit frightened, and so they asked to be heard. They said, "Can we not be heard before you decide the matter?" and President Wilson, who had promised so much in that twelfth point I quoted, said, "Yes; you will be heard." So he selected two men—his own men. Those men were, as has been said, Charles R. Crane and Henry Churchill King. They were sent to Palestine on an American boat. They landed at Jaffa, and the Zionists had the first chance at them; they took them all around and showed them everything they had to show, and the commission went to the various towns, they went all about the country, and the people believed that they were to have a chance to be heard.

Mr. COOPER. May I ask you about Charles R. Crane?

Professor REED. He was once appointed minister to China.

Mr. COOPER. And stopped at San Francisco, and his mission was taken away from him?

Professor REED. Yes. •

Mr. MOORES. He has been in diplomacy ever since.

Mr. COOPER. That does not make any difference.

Professor REED. He was appointed by President Taft, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. That is funny; President Wilson appointed Crane, too.

Mr. MOORES. He was appointed immediately after the election.

Professor REED. These men were appointed, and the Palestinians, when that American mission came, were distinctly told from Paris that they were to be heard. I was there engaged in relief work, and it was not my business to mix into politics, and I did not. I have a letter here from the head of the Red Cross saying that my attitude was irreproachable and, if anything, I leaned over backwards to give the Zionists a chance, because I believed in Zionism when I went there; and it is only because I saw what they were doing that I am fighting it as hard as I can now. They went up and down that country, and what has happened to their report? That report has absolutely disappeared. I wrote down to the State Department, asking them if I could not get that report. That was before Mr. Wilson went out. I was told that there was no chance of seeing that report, and that it probably never would come out. I am very sorry that I have not that letter here to show you; but that is an absolute fact. I applied for that report and was told that there was no probability or possibility of the Government publishing it. Now, it is very strange that President Weizmann, of this great international organization which you are asked to indorse, can see what I can not see. He can see that report. I, an American citizen and taxpayer, can not know what is going on there, but President Weizmann can. That, Mr. Chairman, is only one of many, many episodes which make me think we want to keep absolutely clear of this international organization.

Now, let me read you, please, what President Weizmann said about that report. I have not been able to get one iota of information about it. This is from a pamphlet entitled "Zionist Policy," an address by Dr. Charles Weizmann, Sunday, September 21, 1919. Published by the English Zionist Federation. It is a document that anybody can buy, and I have scores of similar ones. Here is what he says. I read from page 12. (Reading:)

"The American Commission has passed through Palestine.

"Many of you have worried about this."

I would not be worried if Mr. Crane and Mr. King were looking up anything I was doing. (Continuing reading):

"So was I; not that they would not find colonies in Palestine, but that they would not find enough."

Here is the point:

"They gave a report which is divided into two parts: What the Arabs said about closing the doors against the Jews coming into Palestine, and what they themselves saw of the achievement of the Jews, which has opened the door to us. They could not have found words enough to express their admiration of what the Jews have done in Palestine."

Here is President Weizmann explaining to a group of London Zionists what the Crane-King report contained, and I, Mr. Chairman, have never been able to find out. I was very much irritated at that, because I pay taxes and I consider that I have a right to know what is going on. I consider that I have just as good a right as he has, although Doctor Weizmann is president of this great international organization which you are asked to ratify. I think I have just as good a right to know what is going on as he has.

Now, I will ask the stenographer to take this statement very carefully, and I am going to be very sure about it: I asked a very prominent American why I could not see that report. He replied that this commission was sent out by President Wilson purely to give President Wilson information concerning the situation in the Near East; that it was not designed to publish this report. The commission was simply to gather information for the President.

Now, gentlemen, that was a very great wrong. Those poor people believed they were going to be heard. They thought they would have the ear of the American public. And I ask you, before you do anything, before you indorse the Zionist organization, before you get into this mandate business, that you find out what those two Americans of standing think about the situation in Palestine. Do not take my word for it; do not take the words of my friends over there. But if President Weizmann can find out, I do not see why a committee from the American Congress can not find out. There you have your report. Find out what they say. Now, I can not find that report. Let us come down to the mandate.

I have shown that the mandate is to guide the subject communities and to fit them to stand on their feet. Who made that mandate, and what is that mandate. Why, Mr. Chairman, that mandate, of course, is the constitution for Palestine. That mandate is the rule under which that country is going to be governed; and, as I said before, this Zionist organization simply overrules every idea of American liberty. I said I thought as an American citizen a man should have something to say about his own constitution. If you are going to lay down a fundamental constitution of the land, you want more than one-tenth of the population to be heard.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. May I interrupt you right there?

Professor REED. Yes; please do. I want to get my points clear, because I want you to follow me.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I understand that your objection is, to that constitution, that they had no voice in making it?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You are aware, of course, that the Congress of the United States issued a mandate for the government of the whole of the Louisiana Territory?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And intrusted its government to five men and did not make any of the constitutional guaranties applicable, practically?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And you are aware that we have governed the Philippine Islands without making the constitution applicable, and there is practically none of the Constitution of the United States there, except that the

United States Supreme Court in one case implied that possibly the guaranties of constitutional liberty may be there?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And yet when the Congress of the United States imposed those governments upon those people—those constitutions—they had not a word to say about it. So there is nothing extraordinary in that respect about this mandate.

Professor REED. May I contradict you, if you will permit me, Mr. Cooper?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes, sir.

Professor REED. There is something very extraordinary about it. The United States Government in that instance did not consult only one-tenth of the population of those territories. It would be fair if they never consulted anybody, but they allowed the Zionists to write the mandate. There is no comparison between the two cases.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What is the application of what you are stating? Come to the mandate.

Professor REED. All right, sir; I am coming right to the mandate.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Will you let me put this question to you?

Professor REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. When two men undertake to make a contract they sometimes talk and discuss it for a month or six weeks or two months, and then they finally make a written contract, and then the law says that everything is merged in the written contract, and all their talk goes for nothing.

Professor REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. These people talked back and forth and made suggestions and discussed policies and made propositions for some two years. Finally it was all merged in the mandate, and there is nothing in those conversations that can in anywise affect it.

Professor REED. If you will give me leave, I would like to contradict you again, if I may, sir?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes; that is my view only.

Professor REED. I am not presenting to you, now, my views. Fortunately we have Doctor Weizmann's own statement about their writing a part of that contract. It was not suggesting it, but the actual writing of it. I say the objection is that in this case they did consult those of this organization and did not consult others.

Now, who wrote this? I will ask you take this, if you please, Mr. Stenographer. This is from Palestine for March 26, 1921. This is not the same as The New Palestine; it is a British biweekly. This is from the issue of March 26, 1921. (Reading:)

"It had not been an easy thing for the English Government to make this appointment (of Samuel). They had 100 other candidates who might have been sent more easily. The Government might have treated Palestine as they were treating Mesopotamia and other areas."

That is, they might have given Palestine a little chance; but they did not. Why did they not? Because they had someone write that mandate.

Now, I come right to the point. It was not conversation. I will read another extract from the same biweekly, Palestine, for March 26, 1921. This is from the publication of a speech made that same week at Great Assembly Hall, London, by Doctor Weizmann. (Reading:)

"Speaking of the mandate, Doctor Weizmann said that it was difficult for one who had participated and collaborated in the construction of the mandate to defend it before them."

The president of this international Zionist organization, on his own word, participated and collaborated in the construction of the mandate, and therefore it was difficult, he said, for him to defend it before them. I want to show you how the mandate changes the Balfour declaration. It is one step after the other. In a sense, it is very easy. If you take the first step, you go down, down, down. I will read this again. (Reading:)

"Speaking of the mandate, Doctor Weizmann said that it was difficult for one who had participated and collaborated in the construction of the mandate to defend it before them. He could not say everything in the mandate was satisfactory. \* \* \* However weak in its text, it was morally the greatest victory which any people could achieve. There were not a million Jews in Palestine, but the British Government had negotiated with the Jews in Warsaw and the Ukraine, in London and New York."



I do not object at all to having the British negotiate with all these Jews all over the world, but I want to ask you why did not the British Government, in drawing this mandate, negotiate with one single non-Jewish Palestinian? If they sent to New York and sought our Zionist organization, is it fair that they should negotiate only with them? Do you mean to say that this League of Nations which says that tutelage of these people should be the business of the mandatory, should not let the others have a single word to say about it? Why did they not do it? Is it because, as a Zionist orator has said, the non-Jewish Palestinians are "half-civilized Arabs"? Is that so? No; here are two gentlemen who are quite highly civilized; and I want to read a letter to you; and I want it inserted in the minutes, to show that there were men in Palestine who can be consulted by the British Government if the British Government were to do the fair and straight and honorable thing in wording the terms of that mandate. In wording the terms of that mandate I want to show you that there were several men they could have consulted. They consulted many others about the mandate, but not one single non-Jewish Palestinian.

I want to read to you, taken from the "Near East," a communication from the secretary of the Palestine Arab delegation now in London, which has more sense in it than scores of the pages that I have read of Doctor Weizmann. He is a Christian Palestinian; one of those men who has been compared to the American Indian; a man they call "half civilized." Just see the moderation of this and the statesmanship of it, and if this is not the only proposition that is worth anything, and if it is not good Americanism I do not know what American doctrine is. The reason that I do not want you to vote for this resolution is because it is absolutely un-American. [Reading:]

"To the Editor of the 'Near East.'"

"Sir: The conclusion at which Lord Northcliffe arrived as the result of his own inquiries into the condition of Palestine made on the spot will recommend itself to every Britisher.

"Lord Northcliffe's visit disclosed two facts: (1) The seriousness of the situation in Palestine, and (2) the necessity for an immediate, complete, and impartial investigation.

"Certain hurried commitments were made in 1917 to the Zionist organization, which have not conduced to peace and happiness in Palestine."

I do not think anybody can deny that. They never had these riots before that Balfour declaration. They lived in harmony. Palestine is not a happy country when you have to put in 7,000 British troops in a place the size of Vermont. It is not a happy country. It is not a peaceful country. [Continuing reading:]

"The Arabs, who form 93 per cent of the population, are decidedly disaffected. They complain of a gross injustice being done to them."

Now, this is a statesman.

Mr. Moore. Would you mind just reading the letter continuously?

Professor Reed. Yes. I admire it so much that I can not help expressing myself upon it.

Mr. Moore. You can comment on it later.

Professor Reed. Yes, sir. [Reading:]

"They complain of a gross injustice being done to them. An impartial inquiry will either convince them of the baselessness of their complaint, or will recommend the redressing of their wrongs. No impartial inquiry has ever harmed a just cause. The Palestine Arab delegation, therefore, appeals to the British Government, Parliament, and the British nation to reserve their decision on the mandate until an investigation has found out the truth.

"A hurried settlement that is not based on the recognition of the facts must inevitably lead to disaster. The ideal must be realized through channels of the real. The Arab population of Palestine is a fact, and should be the main concern of politicians who are rearranging the world. To ignore this fact of the Arabs in Palestine and their unwillingness to be dominated by political Zionism may succeed for a while with the help of British armored cars and airplanes. But can England afford to be ever on her guard in Palestine and the Near East, to be continuously on the defensive with the Moslem and Christian population hostile to her? Certainly not. England neither can afford this nor is it the wish of her people that she should be so situated. The Arabs of Palestine are friends and should be treated as such, and not cowed by force of arms.

"The moment the delegation arrived in this country it asked in its official statement called 'The Holy Land,' that a commission of inquiry be sent out to Palestine to examine and report. It is now glad that Lord Northcliffe has recommended this as the best way of getting at the truth.

"This controversy might be kept up for years—statements made on one side and refuted by the other—without a satisfactory solution being attained.

"One condition the delegation would put forward which must readily meet with universal approval, and that is that the commission selected be strictly neutral and unbiased either one way or the other. If this condition is not fulfilled the inquiry would become a mere farce.

"I am, etc., (for the Palestine Arab delegation),

"SHIBLY JAMAL,  
"Honorable Secretary.

"HOTEL CECIL,  
"London, February 21, 1922."

Now, gentlemen, did the Zionist organization, did Doctor Weizmann accept that?

Mr. LIPSKY. Did he not accept that?

Professor REED. He did not, and you know that he did not; and I will show you what he did. All right, bring that up and read it, if you please. Have you got it?

Mr. LIPSKY. Go ahead.

Professor REED. Let me tell you what he did. You have walked into a trap.

Mr. LIPSKY. Does the gentleman set traps?

Professor REED. No; that is a rhetorical figure of speech. Put that in the record, if you wish. Doctor Weizmann did not accept it. When this man asked for an impartial investigation, and said that no impartial investigation ever harmed a just cause, Doctor Weizmann did not agree.

Two things were proposed in that letter: One was that an impartial committee investigate; the second was that all action on the mandate be held up until that commission had reported. One reason that you are told here that you must hurry up this resolution is that it will help pass the mandate quickly.

Doctor Weizmann did not accept that. If Doctor Weizmann had said, "Hold up the mandate and let us not have the mandate until we can investigate, there should not be any final action on the mandate until we can find out the facts"—but he did not say that. Mr. Lipsky, I am very sure that if you will look up that short letter of Doctor Weizmann he did not agree. Very well; I will not address any more remarks to you. I merely asked him, Mr. Chairman, to confirm what I said. I will not ask him again.

The commission of non-Jewish Palestinians asked to hold up the mandate until there could be an inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that?

Professor REED. February 21; and this is the letter of a statesman, and you are asked to pay no attention to that.

The CHAIRMAN. February 21 of what year?

Professor REED. February 21, 1922; this year. That is a very fine document. And now let me show you how the mandate was drawn. You had better know where you are going before you act on this matter, or you are going to get caught in it. I can not do any better than to quote from their own Zionist documents. You are going to get caught in the mandate. I am going to read you that. This is the way the mandate was made:

"Informal discussion between representatives of the Zionist Organization and British representatives at Paris on the mandate for Palestine began in the spring of 1919. Doctor Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow received much aid from the American Zionist delegation. Later, when the British delegation returned to London and when Doctor Weizmann was absent in Palestine and Mr. Sokolow in Paris, negotiations were conducted by Mr. Herbert Samuel, Doctor Jacobson, Doctor Feiler, Mr. Harry Sacher, Mr. Landman, and Mr. Ben Cohen. Drafts of the mandate were prepared by Prof. Felix Frankfurter and Mr. Gans. The first draft was presented to the British delegation on July 15, 1919. It was reconsidered when Lord Curzon succeeded Mr. Balfour as Foreign Secretary. The reconsideration resulted in a second draft, presented on June 19, 1920, which showed the following omissions from the first tentative draft:

"1. A paragraph in the preamble recognizing the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine.

"2. The term 'self-governing commonwealth' was deleted and 'self-governing institutions' substituted.

"3. The right given to the Jewish agency to be consulted in regard to the granting of concessions which it does not take up itself.

"4. The recognition of the establishment of the Jewish national home as the guiding principle in the execution of the mandate.

"5. The intrusting of Jewish education to the Jewish agency.

"6. Mention of Jewish Sabbath and holidays.

"The Zionists objected strenuously to these proposed changes and entered into negotiations with prominent British officials and with groups in the House of Commons. Finally in December, 1920, the cabinet decided to reincorporate into the mandate the statement regarding the historical connections of the Jews with Palestine." (Summary of the Political Report of the Twelfth Zionist Congress, which began at Carlsbad on September 1, 1919. Printed in *The New Palestine*, September 9, 1921, p. 13.)

Now, these are little things that the British Government had nerve enough to throw out. Perhaps you would like to know how an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court had a hand in this mandate; and if I had a little time I would like to give you an interesting 10 minutes' talk on the Supreme Court of the United States and Zionism. It would make a very interesting story. I will read a quotation from page 10 of *The New Palestine* of September 9, 1921. This is from the report of the speech of Mr. Julius Simon, who speaks of this mandate. [Reading:]

"Brandeis, he said, who has been accepted as a tried and true Zionist and follower of Herzl, was suddenly denounced as a bad Zionist, notwithstanding the fact that the only favorable point in the Palestine mandate, the point as to the creation of a Jewish agency in Palestine, is ascribable to the work of Brandeis."

Now, Mr. Brandeis may draw up very excellent constitutions. My only point is, Why in the world have not these people, who were promised a hearing, a single thing to say about the constitution of their land; and why does Mr. Brandeis write one one thing and Mr. Frankfurter or somebody else write another thing; and, in fact, who knows who wrote this and who wrote that? And now they come in here and ask you to pass the resolution, and one of them said if you passed this it would help to pass the mandate.

Mr. FISH. What are your exceptions to the view of Mr. Frankfurter?

Professor REED. Not the slightest thing, except that I think it is peculiar that the Zionists alone are consulted.

Mr. FISH. You think it was wrong to consult Mr. Brandeis and Mr. Frankfurter?

Professor REED. Absolutely, if you do not consult anybody on the ground. It is all right to consult them, if you give the other nine-tenths of the population a chance to be heard.

Mr. FISH. Of course Mr. Frankfurter and Mr. Brandeis are not inhabitants of Palestine. They are authorities on constitutional law.

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. FISH. And very eminent Americans.

Professor REED. Very eminent Americans. Then do you mean to say that America is going to govern Palestine?

Mr. FISH. I think when Europe sees fit to come to this country—

Professor REED. It is the Zionist organization. I want America to keep out of the Zionist organization.

Mr. FISH. I thought you said just now that the British Government consulted these men?

Professor REED. I beg your pardon.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. None of these things you have been reading are in the mandate.

Professor REED. Yes, Mr. Brandeis is. I will read it to you [reading]:

"The only favorable point in the Palestine mandate, the point as to the creation of a Jewish Agency in Palestine, is ascribable to the work of Brandeis."

Now, there is no doubt about that, and I will read it to you. I think you would like to see this book, used for this drive that is now going on in New York—and I will say, gentlemen, in my opinion one reason you are asked to hurry through this resolution is to help this drive. The British Government has already passed such a resolution in the Balfour declaration. Doctor Weizmann said that he made 1,000 personal calls before the British Government adopted the Balfour resolution. They took all that time, but you are asked to pass this resolution in two or three hours.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What is it there in that mandate to which you object?

Professor REED. I am going to reach that. There are one or two other things before the mandate. I am going to read the mandate. Give me time and I shall come right out with it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I do not want to interfere with your course, but I wish you would come to the question that it seems to me is germane. You read what Mr. Justice Brandeis suggested.

Professor REED. What he wrote?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What he wrote, yes.

Professor REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. He wrote to suggest what would later appear in the mandate; so that it was a written suggestion.

Professor REED. No; we have that here. He said that he wrote it. I will read it again [reading]:

"Notwithstanding the fact that the only favorable point in the Palestine mandate, the point as to the creation of a Jewish Agency in Palestine, is ascribable to the work of Brandeis."

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. That was my recollection; the statement was that he wrote this suggestion for the mandate and they incorporated it.

Professor REED. Will the reporter put that in, then? Now, this is—

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Wait just a minute. I asked what that was which he proposes—what was in the mandate to which you object? What was it? Let us see if the language itself is such as that we, as Americans, could indorse it. You have criticized it.

Professor REED. I wish very much you would let me continue my argument. I will come right down to it and show you what I mean.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. All right.

Professor REED. I have it right here, and "Brandeis" written right over it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Only anybody reading your argument and seeing your criticism of the Brandeis provision ought to be able to see the provision, then, right there.

Professor REED. Yes; may I make myself clear? I am not criticizing—

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin (continuing). So that, reading it, they would understand what it was.

Professor REED. My point is that Mr. Brandeis may be one of the very greatest of lawyers—I am not a lawyer—but it is rather peculiar that Americans are making this mandate. Let me come down to the description of the mandate in this little book, the Keren Ha-Yesod book. I refer to page 27 [reading]:

"With all its defects, from our point of view, this document actually raises Zionism to a political height from which under normal conditions it can no more be deposed. The historic rights of Israel in Palestine are confirmed; the Jewish national home policy proclaimed as the main guiding principle in the administration of the country; the Zionist organization recognized as the legal adviser of the Government, and perhaps, by implication, as a subject of certain rights vis-à-vis the League of Nations; Hebrew adopted as one of the official languages of the country."

Now, then, I want to be very fair in my quotation. Mr. Lipsky, shall I read all of this? [Continuing reading:]

"We may regret the vagueness of all this; we may and must struggle for fuller guarantees"—they are not at all satisfied with the mandate as it is now—"but it can not be denied that, given a sufficient amount of alertness and energy on our own part, the mandate is a powerful political weapon."

Of course, according to the League of Nations, the people concerned in a mandate should be guided. This is going to be a very powerful political weapon in the hands of the Zionists.

Mr. MOORE. Would it interfere with you for me to ask you a question?

Professor REED. Not at all.

Mr. MOORE. Leaving aside the question as to the authorship and the evolution of the mandate, and assuming, as I suppose we must assume, that if there had not been such provision of that sort, conditions in Palestine would have been intolerable—

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. MOORE (continuing). What are your practical objections to the mandate?

Professor REED. My practical objection is that it changes the Balfour declaration; or, put it another way, the Balfour declaration follows the mandate. I am perfectly correct about that.

Mr. MOORE. Take the mandate itself.

Professor REED. Now, I am coming to that, and I want to show you how the Balfour declaration is changed here. I do not know whether you want me to read the first clause, "Whereas," etc.

Mr. MOORE. No.

Professor REED. This is headed the "Mandate for Palestine as submitted by Mr. Balfour on December 7, 1920, to the Secretariat General of the League of Nations for the approval of the Council of the League of Nations." There is nothing relevant to this in the first two paragraphs, and then we come to this. (Reading:)

"Whereas by the same article the high contracting parties further agreed that the mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty"—

Mr. FISH. Do you take any exception to the Balfour declaration?

Professor REED. Yes. That was my whole argument yesterday.

Mr. FISH. I thought you said that it did not carry out the Balfour declaration?

Professor REED. I think the Balfour declaration is very bad, but I think the mandate is worse.

Mr. FISH. I thought you took exceptions to the mandate because it—

Professor REED. I take exception to the mandate, because it is worse than the Balfour declaration. That makes my position perfectly plain. This is added which is not in the declaration:

"Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country."

That is, I think, a very bad clause; part of it was intended for the Balfour declaration, as I said yesterday; and the British refused it, because they said, "If you put in 'reconstituting their national home,' it means that you have granted a right to make Palestine a Jewish national home without regard to the consent of its inhabitants. That is my previous testimony. They put that right in here in the mandate.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You are not now reading from the mandate?

Professor REED. Yes; that is the preamble to the mandate.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I thought you said this was Balfour's letter suggesting something for the mandate.

Professor REED. No; this is the mandate that I am reading now. Now, article 2. (Reading:)

"ART. 2. The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safe-guarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion."

That sounds very well, and that includes again the idea that all the civil rights will be preserved; but I tried to show you yesterday what, under the Balfour declaration, the Zionists have asked for. (Continuing reading:)

"ART. 3. The mandatory shall encourage the widest measure of self-government for localities consistent with the prevailing conditions."

And here is what Mr. Brandeis suggested—

Mr. FISH. Of course, I do not assume for a minute that you do not think that Brandeis and others have a right to make suggestions, or to make even requests for what they believe. You do not question their right on that.

Professor REED. Yes; I question that right if no one else is heard.

Mr. FISH. Does it not show considerable ability on their part if they are able to persuade the British Government?

Professor REED. No; it represents a considerable diplomacy on their part.

Mr. FISH. They can not exercise any pressure on the British cabinet.

Professor REED. No; they have not exercised pressure; but I can show you where Zionists say Mr. Balfour was their great friend.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not true that if they had consulted both sides in drafting this mandate, you would not object to it; but you do object to the consulting of 10 per cent of the population and ignoring everyone else?

Professor REED. Yes, sir; and I object to that, as absolutely foreign to the idea of article 22 of the covenant of the League of Nations, which I read to that is not "a sacred trust." If you did not let others in here, and let

only the Zionists come in, I would say that there was not much "sacred trust" about that American liberty. Now, here is Mr. Brandeis's suggestion [reading]:

"Article 4. An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

"The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

Now, here you see is written into the mandate the fact that they must recognize a body which is an international body, a body in which all Zionists take part; it must be recognized. It has a legal status with the government. They can come in and talk to that government; and as Dr. Weizmann said elsewhere, according to their power, the more they can talk. That is written into the constitution of the country.

Now, I want to show you into what an impasse the British Secretary of State was forced. I think it is a very, very humiliating thing for Mr. Winston Churchill. Mr. Winston Churchill is the British Secretary of State, and he spoke at Jerusalem March 31, 1921, for he went Palestine to look up matters. He made a very careful survey of the state of the country. He met various delegations, Zionists and others, and he spoke to the non-Jewish Palestinians. I want to show you what he said to them. [Reading:]

"I consider your address partly partisan and incorrect. You ask me to repudiate the Balfour declaration and stop immigration."

Mr. FISH. What was that; stop immigration?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. FISH. That means all immigration?

Professor REED. No; the most they have ever said was they wanted immigration stopped for 10 years.

Mr. FISH. How generous; only for 10 years?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. FISH. Of all Jews?

Professor REED. Of all Jews, for 10 years. And on the other side, let me say that the Zionist organization has asked for absolutely free immigration; and that is an interesting point, as I can prove to you. The Jaffa riots as the official report shows, began with an attack by Bolshevik Jews and communists on other Jews; and several of those Bolsheviks were expelled from Palestine. The great Zionist assembly at Carlsbad said that they could not approve of anyone being expelled, and every Jew should always be free to enter this land.

Mr. FISH. They are supposed now to select immigrants?

Professor REED. They are supposed to select the immigration. I am trying to keep out of this mandate. Mr. Churchill then spoke at Jerusalem as follows [reading]:

"Moreover, it is manifestly right that the scattered Jews should have a national center and a national home in which they might be reunited, and where else but in Palestine, with which the Jews for 3,000 years have been immediately and profoundly associated? We think it is good for the world, good for the Jews, and good for the British Empire, and it is also good for the Arabs dwelling in Palestine, and we intend it to be so. They shall not be supplanted or suffer, but they shall share in the benefits and the progress of Zionism."

This is what I want you to notice:

"I draw your attention to the second part of the Balfour declaration emphasizing the sacredness of your civil and religious rights. I am sorry you regard it as valueless. It is vital to you, and you should hold and claim it firmly. If one promise stands, so does the other. We shall faithfully fulfill both. \* \* \* Examine Mr. Balfour's careful words, Palestine to be 'a national home,' not 'the national home,' a great difference in meaning.

"The establishment of a national home does not mean a Jewish Government to dominate the Arabs. Great Britain is the greatest Moslem state in the world, and is well disposed to the Arabs and cherishes their friendship. \* \* \* You need not be alarmed for the future. Great Britain has promised

a fair chance for the Zionist movement, but the latter will succeed only on its merits."

In other words, when these Palestinians hear this great speech of Winston Churchill, what does it offer that is important? Observe the Balfour Declaration: It is "a national home," not "the national home." This whole speech hinges on those little words. How easy it makes it for them.

I think my point is perfectly clear. He said that the only hope of these people was of not being dominated, and that the Balfour declaration says "a" national home, not "the" national home.

When you take the mandate you find that they have changed the Balfour declaration, and while it appears in the preamble as the establishment in Palestine of a national home, as soon as you get down to the mandate you find it reads:

"The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home." (Art. 2.)

Now, why in the world tell those people that? Why get up and tell them, "Gentlemen, you are perfectly safe; it is a national home," when the Balfour declaration is thrown aside in this second article and "a" national home becomes "the" national home? I think that is a rather hard position for the British Secretary of State; and I can tell you why it is a hard condition.

Mr. FISH. Really, we are talking about something that does not exist.

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. FISH. Whether or not it is the national home is a question of fact. You are not going to have there the national home unless you have a majority of Jews in the country. Moreover, the British mandate has not yet been ratified.

Professor REED. Mr. Winston Churchill did this peculiar thing. How could he stand there and tell them that their whole salvation depended upon that difference of a word?

Mr. FISH. Has that mandate been revised at all?

Professor REED. Not that I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you examined other copies of the mandate?

Professor REED. No, sir; I got that from the British Department of Foreign Affairs, and I thought that it was a fair copy. I do not see how I can present a more valuable document than this.

Mr. MOORE. I want to get straightened out on this, if I can.

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. MOORE. In the covenant of the League of Nations is a general mandatory provision.

Professor REED. Yes; and under that, England administers this country.

Mr. MOORE. There is that general mandatory provision. Then this paper that you have used, and that I have in my hand, is a draft of regulations or provisions under which Great Britain was cooperating in Palestine and elsewhere.

Professor REED. Yes; that is what is called the Palestine mandate.

Mr. MOORE. This draft was approved by the British Parliament?

Professor REED. No, sir; so far as I know it has never been put before the English Parliament.

Mr. MOORE. It has not been approved by the English Parliament?

Professor REED. No, sir.

Mr. MOORE. It has not been actually presented to the Council of the League of Nations?

The CHAIRMAN. There was a meeting of the League of Nations at San Remo, when a mandate was offered to the United States over Armenia, a mandate over Palestine to Great Britain, and I think Mesopotamia to Great Britain. I think that is the status of the matter.

Mr. MOORE. Then, as you say, there has not been any final action by the British Government?

Professor REED. No, sir.

Mr. MOORE. Or by the Council of the League of Nations?

Professor REED. I know there has been no final action by the Council of the League of Nations.

Mr. MOORE. So that we do not know yet what are the final provisions under which the British Government is to act in Palestine?

Professor REED. The only thing I have seen changing the mandate at all is concerning the trans-Jordanian region.

Mr. MOORE. Then the point you make is that if we pass this resolution we do it without knowing that what we are approving is the final thing which is

going to be agreed upon by the British Government and the Council of the League of Nations?

Professor REED. Of course, we do not know that; but I should think if they approved that mandate, that would be a very bad document, as it stands.

Mr. FISH. I hope you realize that we do not mention the mandate in the resolution, or even the Balfour resolution. We simply express the good will of the Congress of the United States for the efforts of the Jews to establish themselves in their former homeland.

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. MOORE. But the Senate resolution does specifically mention the Balfour declaration. That has been incorporated, as I understand, in this mandate which we have here.

Professor REED. Now, if I may continue my argument, this is where we get caught if you do this; if you take the Balfour declaration. This is from an address by Doctor Weizmann, published in the New Palestine of December 16, 1921, and this is so very significant because here Doctor Weizmann says, as he has said many times, what the Balfour declaration means, that declaration which you are asked to underwrite. [Reading:]

"I am very often reproached in a friendly way by a friendly press for trying to evade the fundamental political question of the meaning of the Balfour declaration. It is true in a sense. I thought we might leave it to time and to our own work to give a proper interpretation of the Balfour declaration"—

May I interpolate? I do not think you ought to leave it to time and to the Zionist executive to give a proper interpretation to the Balfour declaration. I think you had better know absolutely what you are dealing with—

"And in spite of all reproaches I should not have spoken about it to-night if other people had not taken it upon themselves to interpret the Balfour declaration."

The British secretary of state has stated it did not mean "the" Jewish home land; that it meant "a" home land. He said it did not mean the establishment of a Jewish government to dominate the Arabs, and President Weizmann does not like that. [Continuing reading:]

"I thought we might leave it to time and to our own work to give a proper interpretation of the Balfour declaration."

That is bad! Other people have talked about it! [Continuing reading:]

"I regret to state that as Zionists we can not agree with the various interpretations which have been given to the Balfour declaration, whether they come from high authorities or less high authorities."

Then, what in the world is the interpretation of the Balfour declaration? [Continuing reading:]

"The one and only interpretation which we consider as authentic, final, operative, and binding upon the British Government and upon the Zionist organization is what is laid down in the mandate."

Now, there is my point. If you ask the president of this world organization which you are asked to indorse, "What do you mean by the Balfour declaration?" that is the answer. May I read it again? [Reading:]

"The one and only interpretation which we consider as authentic, final, operative, and binding upon the British Government and upon the Zionist organization is what is laid down in the mandate."

Mr. FISH. Just an interruption there: What is to prohibit the English Government from throwing the whole mandate over absolutely and keeping the Balfour declaration?

Professor REED. That is a very interesting point. I can not see why, Doctor Weizmann being a British citizen, they let him talk the way he does.

Mr. FISH. That does not answer my question. I say, Why could not the British Government throw the whole mandate overboard and write a new one to-morrow? It has not been ratified by the League of Nations.

Professor REED. I suppose it could. But this is coming up, and they said here on the floor that if you pass this resolution it would help the ratification of the mandate. You will find that in the discussion. There is no doubt that the Zionist organization is working very hard to have the mandate ratified April 25.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Ratified by whom?

Professor REED. Ratified by the League of Nations. They say now that the British Government can not change the Balfour declaration. It is a national obligation.



Mr. FISH. Do you not agree with me that a person can favor the Balfour declaration and be opposed to the mandate? Do you mean to say because Secretary Hughes agrees with the Balfour declaration that he must indorse the mandate?

Professor REED. I do not know the views of Secretary Hughes, and have no right to speak of them.

Mr. FISH. Then, anyone who believes in the Balfour declaration must necessarily believe in the mandate?

Professor REED. Here is going to be your weak point: When you ask what the Balfour declaration means, as it has been asked here, you must turn to the man who is running this organization to whom the British Government pledges itself, and what does he say? Here is what he says:

"The one and only interpretation which we consider as authentic, final, operative, and binding upon the British Government and upon the Zionist organization is what is laid down in the mandate."

Mr. FISH. If the committee will permit me for one minute, I will read to you the definition of the mandate as agreed by the Secretary of State of the United States. In the Lodge resolution [reading]:

"That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, in accordance with the provisions contained in the declaration of the British Government of November 2, 1917, known as the Balfour declaration, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected."

Now, I submit that that is a very clear definition of the Secretary of State and Mr. Lodge of what they think the Balfour declaration to be.

Professor REED. Yes. I submit, of course, no matter what anybody thinks, we are dealing with the Zionist organization, and their conception of what they mean by the rights—the civil and religious rights—of the organization is such a peculiar one. As I understand, the mandate calls it "the" Jewish home. In the Balfour declaration it is "a" Jewish home, and as Mr. Churchill told them to, the "Arabs" there will just stick to "a."

Professor REED. Yes; and Mr. Balfour told them to examine carefully the words; it was to be "a" national home instead of "the" national home. A great difference! That is the only hope for them.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The mandate is followed in this resolution.

Professor REED. Yes; the mandate is followed in this resolution. You can not get out of it.

Mr. MOORES. In the body of the mandate it says "their national home," and in article 2 it says "the Jewish national home."

Professor REED. Yes. In the first place, I do not think this was a very honorable thing for Mr. Churchill to say, because he knew what the mandate contains.

Mr. FISH. What I am getting at is, are we opposed to the words in the mandate or the words in this resolution?

Mr. LINTHICUM. You mean in the Lodge resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. But that is not before us.

Mr. LINTHICUM. There is no reason why it should not be.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Is there a copy of the Balfour declaration here?

Professor REED. Yes; there is a copy in the mandate. They put it in the preamble and then changed it in the mandate. That is the reason I do not like the mandate. There is the Balfour declaration in the preamble.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Fish says in this resolution, which is a copy of the Lodge resolution, he adopted the word "the," which is in the mandate.

Professor REED. But not in the Balfour declaration, which has "a." That is what I am trying to get at. You are going to get into this mandate if you have anything to do with it. This quotation from Doctor Weizmann goes on:

"And I think it is time that both the Zionists and, perhaps, a good many agents of the British Government, who are in Palestine and whose duty it is to carry out the Balfour declaration, should be reminded of the text of the mandate.

"The text of the mandate reads in the preamble: 'Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country.

\* \* \* We are going to Palestine, not to build a few stray colonies and not to settle two or three or four thousand emigrants. This sort of thing may be inter-

esting; it may be a very good thing, but it is not what is meant by the Balfour declaration."

Here it is again [reading]:

"What is meant by the Balfour declaration is to reconstitute the ancient Jewish national home. Ancient Judæa was not a stray colony; it was a national and political entity, and it is this national and political entity which, according to the mandate, is to be reconstituted in Palestine."

Mr. FISH. Who is that speaking?

Professor REED. That is Doctor Weizmann, the president of the organization, the highest Zionist in the world. [Continuing reading:]

"I think that is clear. Any other interpretation is mere unadulterated 'pilpul.'"

I suppose "pilpul" means "bunk," does it not?

Mr. LIPSKY. No; it means pettifoggery.

Professor REED (continuing reading):

"Article 2 of the mandate reads: 'The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home as laid down in the preamble.' I think that is perfectly clear."

Now, may I come down to this thing which I think is so bad. This is article 2 of the mandate:

"ART. 2. The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble."

Look at the power that gives. A man comes and says, "Yes, you must give me that concession; you must do this." "Why?" "Because you are responsible for creating the economic conditions for the national home."

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What is the particular criticism of the clause there?

Professor REED. Because that clause is so very, very ambiguous that it may be a very powerful weapon, as they say here.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Do you mean the powers granted?

Professor REED. Yes; I think it is very bad to read that into the mandatory.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I want to ask the professor this question: He says these powers in this particular clause are so tremendous. The powers granted in that clause are no greater than were the powers granted in the so-called organic act of 1803 to organize the Louisiana Purchase, which was approved by the greatest of all Democrats and one of the greatest lovers of liberty—Thomas Jefferson. It gave to five men absolute authority, practically, over courts, over land laws, over everything. They regulated everything in the Louisiana Purchase territory.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cooper, is that a parallel case?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Why not? It was giving to five men great power.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but wait a minute. That was a direct purchase of the Louisiana territory.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I am speaking of giving power to five men over property and everything within that territory.

The CHAIRMAN. But we were the absolute owners of that property. We had the power to do everything we saw fit to do with it. Great Britain is not the owner of Palestine.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. No; but under the national law the only way to take hold of and solve a problem like this, where territory is inhabited by people of different religions and nationalities and different races, must be by a mandate of some power that will keep peace or else it has got to be fought out in war. Now, the circumstances of the case—the conditions that obtain there—necessitate the sending by all the powers of the world, with their consent, of a power in there with a mandate to maintain peace; and it is a mandate which comes from the League of Nations, most of the civilized nations—

Mr. LINTHICUM. We are not in the League of Nations, you know.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I know; but England was, and safeguarded the civil and religious rights not only of Jews resident there but of the Mohammedans and all other nations, creeds, and races, and it gave—

The CHAIRMAN. How are you going to safeguard the civil rights when you prevent them from exercising any control over immigration?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Well, but, so far as the civil rights are concerned, we turned over the question of civil rights in the Louisiana Purchase absolutely, and the courts had everything. They had nothing to say about it what-

soever—a lot of Frenchmen and Spaniards that could not understand our language—thousands of them. A great hue and cry was raised at that time; but it had to be done because there was not any other thing that could be done.

Now, in this case England has—or the League of Nations has—issued the mandate to meet an otherwise unsolvable problem. The power has got to be delegated to somebody to go in there and maintain peace and preserve the civil and religious rights of all of them, irrespective of race or creed or nationality. That is the reason, I suppose, that they have done this.

The CHAIRMAN. In my mind, Mr. Cooper—I may be wrong about it—it seems that the Oriental would be very much better off without the interference of the white man at all.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What do you think, then, of our interference in the Philippines? There are some Malays there, 10,000 miles away, and some Orientals; and I have heard some Republicans say that we are going to keep them forever, but we never will.

The CHAIRMAN. We never will.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. But we have gone in there without any regard to their civil and political or religious rights.

Mr. KENNEDY. I would like to call for the regular order. Let us hear the witness.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I was answering the criticism of the witness, and I wanted him to reply.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think you can conclude in 10 minutes?

Professor REED. Yes; I will conclude in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anybody else you want heard?

Mr. FISH. That depends on the time left.

The CHAIRMAN. How many witnesses have you?

Mr. FISH. I have several here.

Mr. MOORES. Go ahead, Professor Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. Will 10 minutes be enough?

Professor REED. Yes; I will try and go straight through. Here we have article 2 of the mandate. [Reading:]

"Article 2. The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble."

Here is what Doctor Weizmann said on December 16, 1921, in the New Palestine about that. [Reading:]

"The mentality of those who are called upon by article 2 of the mandate to place Palestine under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will conduce to the reconstruction of the Jewish national home—the mentality of these people will have to change, or the people will have to change. I wanted to be perfectly explicit on that, and I think I can not be reproached for evading the issue any longer."

Of course that is simply carrying out what I have said, that a national home has become the Zionist State. He says:

"The mentality of these people will have to change, or the people will have to change."

If you will allow me the suggestion, I think the British people, if they do not do as Doctor Weizmann says, will have to change.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Now, I propose to show by the mandate itself that your construction is absolutely wrong.

Professor REED. May I—

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. This is very important, indeed. You put that in as your belief, and now I propose to show, if I can, that you are absolutely wrong. I read from article 4 of the mandate:

"ART. 4. An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."

That is in the same clause, "subject always to the control of the administration."

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And now, the second paragraph reads:

"The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency."

That shows that the mandatory at any time can disregard the Jewish commission; it can oust it completely and destroy its functions completely. That is perfectly plain what it says.

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. How do you get your other interpretation from anything in the mandate?

Professor REED. I get my other interpretation in the fact that Doctor Weizmann differs absolutely here, as I have shown, from what Mr. Churchill, the Secretary of State, says.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I am talking about the mandate. There is the language. Now, interpret it, if you can, and reconcile it with your statement to the committee that that commission could do as it pleased with the Zionist organization. It provides that it can do nothing except with the consent of the mandatory. The mandatory can oust it, and it is subject always to the government of the mandatory.

Professor REED. Yes, sir; my answer to that is: I think the Zionist organization has such power that the British Government would listen to it; that is all.

Now, let me show you that right here; this is from the "Palestine Disturbances of May, 1922, the Report of the Commission of Investigation." After quoting several statements of Zionists which embittered non-Jewish Palestinians, the report continues:

"Until the commission came to examine Doctor Eder, acting chairman of the Zionist Commission, they were unaware to what extent such expressions of opinion as those we have quoted above were authorized by responsible Zionists. Doctor Eder was a most enlightening witness. He was quite unaggressive in manner and free from any desire to put forward opinions which might be offensive to the Arabs. But when questioned on certain vital matters he was perfectly frank in expressing his view of the Zionist idea. He gave no quarter to the view of the national home as put forward by the Secretary of State and the high commissioner. In his opinion there can only be one national home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish predominance as soon as the numbers of that race are sufficiently increased."

You see, Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Winston Churchill, said that the establishment of the national home did not mean a Jewish government; but here we come to the President of this organization and he gives no quarter at all to the view of the national home put forward by the Secretary of State of England. So that here you have this tremendous conflict.

Now, let me close with this little statement. I read this because I want to be perfectly accurate in what I say:

The war has shown that imperialism is not a satisfactory policy for any race or government. Imperialism may be defined as an attempt to force upon an unwilling people a government they do not desire. If this definition is accepted the world Zionist movement is essentially imperialistic. There can be no doubt of the fact that the Palestinians do not desire the Zionist government, and, as Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, has admitted it, there is no need of debating it. The question then arises: Is force used by the Zionists? I would reply that it is. They attempt to take away from the non-Jewish Palestinians the right to rule their own country by a threefold force: First, the force of the British army of occupation; secondly, the force of what they call "diplomacy"; and, thirdly, the force of propaganda. Americans have believed that the people of any country have a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. A man has no liberty if he can have no voice in the fate of his own country. It is, therefore, my opinion that political Zionism is a thoroughly un-American policy, and I trust that this committee will not pass House Concurrent Resolution No. 52.

I thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you let us have that copy of the mandate?

Mr. MOORES. I think that draft ought to be in the record.

Professor REED. I have only this one copy here from the British Foreign Office. It is printed here in this Zionist pamphlet. I will tear that out and give it to the reporter.

(The pages referred to were here torn by the witness from the pamphlet entitled "The Keren Ha-Yesod Book" and handed to the stenographer, and are here printed in the record, as follows:)

DRAFT OF THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE AS SUBMITTED BY MR. BALFOUR ON DECEMBER 7, 1920, TO THE SECRETARIAT GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR THE APPROVAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Whereas by article 132 of the treaty of peace signed at Sevres on the 10th day of August, 1920, Turkey renounced in favor of the principal allied powers all rights and title over Palestine; and

Whereas by article 95 of the said treaty the high contracting parties agreed to intrust, by application of the provisions of article 22, the administration of Palestine within such boundaries as might be determined by the principal allied powers, to a mandatory to be selected by said powers; and

Whereas by the same article the high contracting parties further agreed that the mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the other allied powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the principal allied powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the terms of the mandate in respect of Palestine have been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the council of the league for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions:

Hereby approves the terms of the said mandate as follows:

ARTICLE 1. His Britannic Majesty shall have the right to exercise as mandatory all the powers inherent in the Government of a sovereign State, save as they may be limited by the terms of the present mandate.

ART. 2. The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safe-guarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race or religion.

ART. 3. The mandatory shall encourage the widest measure of self-government for localities consistent with the prevailing conditions.

ART. 4. An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

ART. 5. The mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign power.

ART. 6. The administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish agency referred to in article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste land not required for public purposes.

ART. 7. The administration of Palestine will be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

ART. 8. The immunities and privileges of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection, as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, are definitely abrogated in Palestine.

ART. 9. The mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall safeguard (a) the interests of foreigners; (b) the law, and (to the extent deemed expedient) the jurisdiction now existing in Palestine with regard to questions arising out of the religious beliefs of certain communities (such as the laws of wakf and personal status). In particular, the mandatory agrees that the control and administration of wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

ART. 10. Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

ART. 11. The administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country and, subject to article 311 of the treaty of peace with Turkey, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services, and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services, utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the administration.

ART. 12. The mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine, and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign powers. It shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside of its territorial limits.

ART. 13. All responsibility in connection with the holy places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights, of securing free access to the holy places, religious buildings and sites, and the free exercise of worship, while insuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the mandatory, who will be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected therewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the mandatory from entering into such arrangement as he may deem reasonable with the administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect, and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines the immunities of which are guaranteed.

ART. 14. In accordance with article 95 of the treaty of peace with Turkey the mandatory undertakes to appoint as soon as possible a special commission to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities. In the composition of this commission the religious interests concerned will be taken into account. The chairman of the commission will be appointed by the council of the League of Nations. It will be the duty of this commission to insure that certain holy places, religious buildings, or sites regarded with special veneration by the adherents of one particular religion are intrusted to the permanent control of suitable bodies representing the adherents of the religion concerned. The selection of the holy places, religious buildings, or sites so to be intrusted shall be made by the commission, subject to the approval of the mandatory.

In all cases dealt with under this article, however, the right and duty of the mandatory to maintain order and decorum in the place concerned shall not be affected, and the buildings and sites will be subject to the provisions of such laws relating to public monuments as may be enacted in Palestine with the approval of the mandatory.

The rights of control conferred under this article will be guaranteed by the League of Nations.

ART. 15. The mandatory will see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public

order and morals, is insured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion, or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language (while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the administration may impose) shall not be denied or impaired.

ART. 16. The mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over missionary enterprise in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with such enterprise or to discriminate against any missionary on the ground of his religion or nationality.

ART. 17. The administration of Palestine may organize on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order and also for the defense of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the mandatory, who shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the administration of Palestine, and except for such purposes no military, naval, or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of forces maintained by the mandatory in Palestine.

The mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways, and ports of Palestine for the movement of troops and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

ART. 18. The mandatory must see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any of the States members of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under their laws) as compared with those of the mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce, or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of ships or aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid, and to the other provisions of this mandate, the administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population.

Nothing in this article shall prevent the Government of Palestine, on the advice of the mandatory, from concluding a special customs agreement with any State, the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

ART. 19. The mandatory will adhere on behalf of the administration to any general international conventions already existing, or that may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation, and postal, telegraphic, and wireless communication, or literary, artistic, or industrial property.

ART. 20. The mandatory will cooperate on behalf of the administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social, and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ART. 21. The mandatory will secure, within 12 months from the date of the coming into force of this mandate, the enactment, and will insure the execution of a law of antiquities based on the provisions of article 421 of part 13 of the treaty of peace with Turkey. This law shall replace the former Ottoman law of antiquities and shall insure equality of treatment in the matter of archeological research to the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations.

ART. 22. English, Arabic, and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscriptions in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and any statements or inscriptions in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

ART. 23. The administration of Palestine shall recognize the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

ART. 24. The mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

ART. 25. If any dispute whatever should arise between the members of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of these provisions which can not be settled by negotiation, this dispute shall be submitted to the permanent court of international justice provided for by article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations.

ART. 26. The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of the present mandate, provided that in the case of any modification proposed by the mandatory such consent may be given by a majority of the council.

ART. 27. In the event of the termination of the mandate conferred upon the mandatory by this declaration, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guaranty of the league, the rights secured by articles 13 and 14, and for securing, under the guaranty of the league, that the Government of Palestine will fully honor the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate.

The present copy shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the secretary general of the League of Nations to all powers signatories of the treaty of peace with Turkey.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Chairman, it is now a quarter to 5 o'clock, and Mr. Lipsky says that he would prefer to speak to-morrow morning.

The CHAIRMAN. That suits me.

Mr. FISH. I think it would be better if we adjourned.

Mr. MOORES. Before we adjourn I would like to ask Professor Reed one or two questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. MOORES. Doctor Reed, it has not been brought out in what capacity you went to Palestine or when you went to Palestine.

Professor REED. Yes, sir; I will be glad to make that statement. I was serving at Yale in teaching field artillery until after the armistice. Then I was invited to go to Palestine as deputy commissioner for the American Red Cross.

I embarked at New York on the *George Washington* December 30, 1918. I had to go to Paris first and do a good deal of work there securing doctors and nurses, and finally I started for Palestine and landed in Jerusalem on the 3d day of March, 1919. I was a deputy commissioner, and part of my business was to inspect the country and see how soon we could withdraw our work.

Mr. MOORES. Without affecting too much the economic status?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. MOORES. Where were your headquarters?

Professor REED. My headquarters were at Jerusalem. I had my headquarters at Jerusalem for three months and a half, except for the trips that I had to make around. I went to Damascus and to Es-Salt and elsewhere, but always coming back to Jerusalem.

I went there a thorough Zionist and with Zionist literature in my trunk.

The first strange thing that struck me was an order from the British governor, which, of course, we had to obey, that no member of the Red Cross must leave during Sunday the Russian compound, where our forces were living, the reason being that there was to be an anti-Zionist parade and there might be a dangerous riot. That was the first intimation I had that the country did not really want the Zionists.

I then, of course, could not help seeing it, by the fact that field guns were brought up—and they would tell me that it was to fire a salute—or that airplanes were hovering over the city. I once went to see a man on my official business and was told that he was ill, and as he was a soldier I wondered what was the matter, and I was told that it was his anxiety over the fact that there might be violent political disturbances.

It was, of course, my business to keep out of politics, and I did. I was asked by the Palestinians, for example, if I would give them any advice as to the



coming of the King-Crane commission. I refused. I was asked to attend a political meeting, and I refused. I was asked if I would go to a house and meet one or two of the prominent men of Jerusalem in connection with the King-Crane commission, and I refused.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Were they Jews or nominal Christians?

Professor REED. They were anti-Zionists. But I met Mr. Ittimar Ben Avi and discussed Zionism. I knew that rightly I would be very seriously criticized by the Zionists if I took part in any political demonstration there or got into local politics; but I could not help seeing, as I went through the country, opposition to Zionism, so that as soon as I got back I began to study the matter very seriously, and it has interested me so much that I have collected a considerable literature, both American and foreign, which I intend to finally deposit in the historical section of the Yale library. And lest any Zionist may possibly think that I used my official position in any way to prejudice their cause, I have a letter from the president of the American Red Cross stating that my position was absolutely correct in all matters. In fact, I may say I leaned over backward, because the only political speech made at the American Red Cross while I was deputy commissioner was by Mr. Ittimar Ben Avi, the son of the great Jewish encyclopedist; and when he asked me if I had anything to reply, and I could have replied, I refrained.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Who was the president of the Red Cross that wrote that letter?

Professor REED. Mr. Livingston Farrand, who is now president of Cornell University.

Mr. MOORES. How many Zionist colonies did you visit while you were there?

Professor REED. Very few, because my work did not take me there; because I only went where I had to go. I hope you have noticed that my argument has been based not on what I saw in Jerusalem or what I heard in Jerusalem, and everything is based upon Zionist documents. I had to go to a number of places several times. Of course, I went through Tel Aviv Church, and I had to go through Tiberias. I am ashamed to say that the names of several that I went through there have escaped my memory. But my business, of course, was not to investigate the Jewish colonies in any way, shape, or manner. I have said here that they are very remarkable institutions, and no one who knows Palestine at all can do anything but pay a tribute to them.

Mr. MOORES. From your observation of the cities of Palestine, in the hands of what class of the population is the banking done—Moslem or Jewish?

Professor REED. Will you excuse me if I say that I really did not go into that?

Mr. MOORES. You did not observe, then, as to which class of men engaged in trade or in manufacturing or in agriculture?

Professor REED. No, sir. Of course, everyone could see that the great bulk of the agriculturists are the natives, and certainly the percentage of Jewish agriculturists was very far the lowest. They had about 19 per cent in agriculture; and they only had 12,000 in the colonies, and those were the agricultural colonies. If you give them the percentage of about 20, that is about one-fifth—I think 20 per cent—I think that was not too high; you could not help seeing that the great bulk of the farming is done by the natives. They have been farmers for generations and always will be. It is a perfectly wonderful country, and, I think, sir, that country can be built up, and I think it must be built up into something like Switzerland, with an equal partnership. You have got to have a partnership of everybody there.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I would like to ask you this: You have been a professor of history how long?

Professor REED. No, sir; I never have taught history in my life.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I thought you said that you were professor of history.

Professor REED. No, sir; I said of English literature. I am not a historian in any sense of the word.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I misunderstood you, then.

Professor REED. I am afraid that I talked too rapidly for you to understand me.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I misunderstood you. You have been a reader of history, as I can see from your testimony.

Professor REED. I will state that I have read much on Palestine. I have read the Crusades, which were very bad.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes; and you have read a good deal of modern Jewish literature. You are very familiar with it.

Professor REED. I am fairly familiar; yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Did you ever read Mr. Justice Brandeis's great speech on Zionism—that was the first thing that ever attracted my attention to it—along seven or eight years ago or ten years ago?

Professor REED. I rather think I have read it. I never had occasion to use it in an argument, but I think that is in my collection. I have two or three shelves of Zionist speeches. I am making a good collection.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I asked you if you had read that speech. Now, you were familiar, and have been apparently most familiar, with this Zionist movement, I can see.

Professor REED. No; I have, as everybody has, the Old Testament background—

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. No, but I mean the modern Zionist movement.

Professor REED. Yes; I have been familiar with it. Before I went out there I read Zionist literature. When I went there I was in favor of Zionism.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And you stayed there three months?

Professor REED. Three months and a half.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Three months and a half?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You did not visit the Zionist colonies, you say?

Professor REED. No, but I saw four or five.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Four or five, and you were busy with your duties of the Red Cross?

Professor REED. You speak of them as "colonies." Tel Aviv is a suburb of a city.

Mr. LIPSKY. Of Jaffa.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What farming colony did you visit?

Professor REED. I did not visit any farming colonies. I went through some and saw them, because I went through in a motor. You could not help seeing them. But I had no work to do in them and never stopped and examined them.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You saw them as you went about in a motor in the daytime?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Did you stop and consult with the people?

Professor REED. No, I did not.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What were your duties there in Jerusalem, mostly?

Professor REED. My duties in Jerusalem were the duties that would naturally fall to the executive of something like forty people. One of my chief duties was to help demobilize the whole force.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You mean the Red Cross?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Were you still distributing supplies?

Professor REED. Yes, chiefly clothing, but the American people could not support it very long after war ended.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What number did you have there, of your subordinates?

Professor REED. I do not call them subordinates.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. In the unit?

Professor REED. In the unit there were 30 or 40.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. They were subordinate to you? You assumed control?

Professor REED. I never assumed control.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. But you were in control?

Professor REED. No, we had an executive committee. I never tried to be in control.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I do not mean to intimate that you were a despot, or anything of that kind. I am simply asking if you were not in charge of those 30 or 40 people. You had a governing body, but you were the head of the governing body?

Professor REED. I never assumed that authority. We always came to a vote on everything.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. When you decide on anything, who issued the orders?

Professor REED. It was decided by this body.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You issued them, did you not?

Professor REED. Yes; I would sign the official letter.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You would sign the official letter. That is what I wanted to get at. You had 30 or 40 people, and you consulted about things?

Professor REED. About everything.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And you had a little governing committee?

Professor REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And the committee instructed you to write and sign orders?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. So that you were really what you would call the head man?

Professor REED. Not for the first month, when I had an older colleague, who was also a deputy commissioner. He broke down under the work and left me there, and I continued the work.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What cities did you visit besides Jerusalem?

Professor REED. I had a pretty good chance to see many. For example, I went to Gaza twice, and I saw that city very thoroughly, because we ran a fine workshop there; and we brought up the superintendent of the workshop and helped to start him in a cooperative industry that is still running in Jerusalem.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. What industry is that?

Professor REED. Weaving; and it is called now, I think, the Jerusalem Looms.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. About how many employees did you have?

Professor REED. I can not tell you how many they have now, but I can tell you that we had about six large wooden looms, and they wove that cloth which the natives wear.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Did you establish any other industry?

Professor REED. No, sir; we established no other industry, because our work was purely relief work.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. In that one town you established one industry. Did you establish any industry in any other town?

Professor REED. I see your point. At Gaza it was not an industry. We brought the man up from Gaza and left him at Jerusalem.

At Jerusalem this weaving work is going on; it was taken on by the men themselves. But if you mean did the Red Cross when they were there start other industries that kept on going—

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes; that is it.

Professor REED (continuing). No; we did not, because it was relief work.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. It was relief work that occupied your time?

Professor REED. Yes; very much of my time.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And you say you came back here?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And read literature, etc., and your mind was changed?

Professor REED. My mind was changed over there when I had to see the military precautions taken. You could not avoid it. It was right there before your eyes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. There were Mohammedans and Christians and Jews and a great variety of creeds and inherited animosities and hatreds and differences of sentiment?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. So that it was inevitable, in a situation like that, that somebody would have to maintain order and have power to enforce it?

Professor REED. Yes; you have got to maintain order; but the force of troops was utterly out of proportion for any ordinary necessity.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Did the fact of the presence of those troops and the fact that the populace wanted them to come there lead you to change your opinion on this question of Zionism?

Professor REED. The fact that they had to have a large military force showed me that the people did not want it. Then I thought I would study the question and see why they did not want it. I believe they did when I went there. I believed, as the Zionists said, that they were not opposed by any section of the people.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You did not have much time to read there?

Professor REED. No, sir.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You did your reading here?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. It was your reading that converted you, finally?

Professor REED. It was the sight of the large force that was necessary for the work to restore order in Palestine. Then, I wanted to see why that happened.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Let me see if I understand you. You went over an ardent Zionist?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And you were familiar with the history of Zion?

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And you were busy with those duties all the time?

Professor REED. Yes; very busy.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And you visited only those few places?

Professor REED. No; I went all over.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You did not visit any of the agricultural colonies?

Professor REED. I went through them, but I had no work there. I was not a tourist, and I could only go where we had work.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I have not heard anything in your statement to explain the conversion from an ardent Zionist, as you were when you went there, and spent three and a half months' time, busy with the duties that you have enumerated—your conversion to an ardent anti-Zionist.

Mr. KENNEDY. Did you change your mind while you were still there or after you came back?

Professor REED. No; I could not help it. I changed when I was there. For example—

Mr. KENNEDY. Then your mind was changed by your observations?

Professor REED. Yes; but I did not know what those people had until I began to study the case, and I saw really what the Zionists were trying to do.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. You said that you changed your mind there, but the only reason you have given as to why you changed your mind over there was this, the great number of troops necessary to preserve order.

Professor REED. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I do not see why that should in any way tend to change your opinion on Zionism.

Professor REED. You could not help being influenced. As I said, I refused to attend any meetings, but you could not help running into the Zionist question. I do not know how I can explain it to you, but in that country you cannot help but hear what the people say. The whole point was that I made no study of Zionism. It was not my duty. I went all over Palestine, to many places.

Mr. KENNEDY. Is there any great number of Americans who hold property interests over there?

Professor REED. There are several Mission stations. For example, there is a boys' high school and a girls' high school at Ram Allah, the home of one of these gentlemen.

Mr. KENNEDY. I mean, property interests in an industrial way?

Professor REED. The Standard Oil had an agent there.

Mr. KENNEDY. Did you inquire into the facts where these Americans happened to be, concerning their circumstances?

Professor REED. I heard something of them, but I could not make an inquiry.

Mr. KENNEDY. What was the view they expressed, if you care to state it?

Professor REED. I dislike to do it, because it will seem as though I were trying to bring before this committee what I saw over there. I have not alluded to that. I want to base my arguments on Zionist documents.

(Thereupon, at 4.45 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, April 21, 1922, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Friday, April 21, 1922.*

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock, Hon. Stephen G. Porter (chairman) presiding.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Chairman, when the hearings began, the question was asked of one of the witnesses when he was last in Palestine, and, as he had not been there for two years, I suggested that Doctor Lazaron and Doctor Birk-

head, of Baltimore, be invited to come before the committee, as they had just returned from Palestine and might be able to enlighten the committee upon conditions there at this time and upon other matters in which we are interested in connection with this resolution. If you have no objection, I will be glad if you will hear at this time Doctor Lazaron, because he has an appointment in Baltimore and wants to return as soon as possible.

**STATEMENT OF RABBI MORRIS S. LAZARON, OF THE BALTIMORE HEBREW CONGREGATION, BALTIMORE, MD.**

Mr. SMITH. Doctor, please tell us about the conditions over there now, and whether you are in favor of or against this resolution.

Doctor LAZARON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, last summer I spent three weeks in Palestine. When this matter was first called to my attention it was through the introduction of the Lodge resolution, which embodies the terminology of the Balfour declaration. Later I saw the Fish resolution, and while, naturally, every Jew appreciates the motives that prompted the gentleman to introduce this resolution, I must confess to a feeling of pleasure when I came this morning and found that in the House Mr. Fish had introduced a resolution similar to the Lodge resolution.

Mr. LINTHICUM. What is the number of that resolution?

Doctor LAZARON. It is House Joint Resolution No. 308. I confess to pleasure at the introduction of that resolution, because it contains a certain point which I am sure will meet the feelings of hundreds of thousands of Jews in this country. The Balfour declaration, as embodied in the joint resolution, contains this language:

"That nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Although I am not speaking authoritatively for any group or organization of Jews—I am only voicing my own opinion—I feel that it is necessary, if any resolution be reported out that it have embodied in it the thought contained in that sentence, "That nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Now, so far as my attitude toward the resolution itself is concerned, I see no reason why the United States, as a friendly Government, should not voice its confirmation of what has already been done by Great Britain. I was in Palestine last summer, and while I am not affiliated with the Zionist organization, I am completely in favor of the rebuilding of Palestine. While in Jerusalem I had a long conversation with Sir Herbert Samuel. Sir Herbert Samuel, as you know, is a Jew who has been appointed high commissioner for Palestine, representing Great Britain.

There was a great deal of criticism of Sir Herbert Samuel, not only on the part of the Jews but on the part of the Arab population; the Jews believing that Sir Herbert Samuel did not lean sufficiently far toward them, and the Arabs believing that he was entirely too partial to the Jews. Consequently he was criticized for whatever point of view he enunciated or whatever policy he maintained. It was my impression that Sir Herbert Samuel was leaning further toward the Arabs in order not to be criticized as being pro-Jewish.

There is keen feeling in both groups. In that connection, let me tell you of a conversation I had with Miss Henrietta Szohl, the daughter of a former rabbi in Baltimore. In discussing this very question with her I said, "What if Sir Herbert Samuel did what you have advocated, or pursued a pro-Jewish policy in Palestine? Suppose that were done and ill-feeling should be stirred up among the Arabs, and we should have massacre after massacre?" This splendid and unselfish woman who has given most of her life to the Palestine cause said in reply, "Well, the worst that could happen would be that many of us would be killed, but we are willing to be killed for Palestine." That simply shows the intensity of the Jewish feeling in the matter.

On the other hand, the Arab population is just as excited and just as insistent. For instance, we were down in Hebron, the site of the Cave of Machpelah, which contains the tomb of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives. I did feel a natural family curiosity about wanting to visit Machpelah. I saw the British governor and asked his permission to go in. He asked if I were a Christian, and I told him, of course, that I was a Jew. He said, "I am very sorry, Rabbi Lazaron, but if the Arab sheikhs who have

charge should find out you are a Jew I would not be responsible for your life." Not wishing to be gathered so summarily to my fathers, I did not press my claim for permission to enter.

The CHAIRMAN. I gather from this testimony that prior to the Balfour declaration the Jews and Arabs lived together peacefully, and that there was never any disorder, or not to any great extent. The Turkish Government apparently maintained there a force of only about 500 soldiers, but it is said that since the Balfour declaration, which the Arabs take as an effort to destroy their limited sovereignty, England has kept an army of several thousand men in Palestine. Since that time these massacres have occurred, although you would hardly be justified in calling them that, because they are entirely too small to be so designated; but there does exist this ill feeling that you speak of. Now, in view of these facts, are we justified in believing that the Balfour declaration was, as one of the witnesses described it, the exciting cause of the trouble between the Arabs and the Jews?

Doctor LAZARON. The Balfour declaration was one of the exciting causes, and another one of the exciting causes was very probably the misinterpretation of the Balfour declaration, which was either wittingly or unwittingly made by many Jewish leaders. The impression seemed to have gone throughout the Jewish world that England would give Palestine outright to the Jewish people; but, according to the terms of the Balfour declaration, such a thing was never contemplated for a moment.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps you can clear this matter up for me. This resolution reads, "It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." Now, suppose the Balfour declaration is carried into effect and the Jewish people in large numbers migrate to Palestine. In the course of time they would be in the majority, and the moment they were in the majority would they not interfere with the existing non-Jewish population?

Doctor LAZARON. I do not think so. According to the terms of the Balfour declaration, it provides that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I have in mind is that the moment the Jews secure a majority in Palestine, then the civil rights of the existing non-Jewish population might be upset or disturbed. That their civil rights would be disturbed would be the natural result, would it not?

Doctor LAZARON. I would say that it is a very distant possibility, Mr. Chairman. Of course, I can not speak for what the future may bring.

The CHAIRMAN. If the Jews were in the majority in Palestine, they would do just as people have done in every other country in the world where they were in the majority, would they not? That has been the history of the world, has it not, and would they not elect their own people to office, and would they not dominate and control the government?

Mr. BROWNE. The people of the United States have not done that, because when people of other nationalities come in here and become citizens they have just as good a chance to secure office as anyone else, and sometimes a better chance?

Mr. SABATH. You do not know of any tendency on the part of the Jewish people who are there that would make you believe that they contemplate any step later on that would prejudice the rights of other people, do you?

Doctor LAZARON. I can only say to you, gentlemen, in answer to that, that the Jew has been subjected to oppression and tyranny, and he knows what it means to drink the dregs of the cup of suffering. I have sufficient confidence in the sense of justice of my people to believe that, were they to establish this Palestine Commonwealth the same just administration would obtain then as obtains now. In other words, under the British administration there are three groups represented in the government of the country, and there is a self-governing autonomy for each particular group, the Arabs representing one group, the Jews one group, and the orthodox Christians one group. There is no reason to believe that even should the Jew ultimately achieve a majority the rights of any group would be impaired. There is every reason to believe they would not.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not have in mind that the Jews would commit any act of injustice, but I had in mind that the Jews would exercise the right which they would have, and which no one would dispute if they were in a majority in Palestine. If they were in the majority they would have a perfect right

to control the government in so far as they were permitted to do so under the British mandate.

Mr. MOORES. They would have the same right to control there that the Negroes have to control in Mississippi.

Doctor LAZARON. The Jew in Europe is struggling for his existence. You must remember that the greatest feeling for Palestine comes not from America. We Jews who have been blessed with the stability and the security of America do not desire to go to Palestine; but what we want, gentlemen, is that there may be one place in the world—in Palestine, amid the old historical associations of our people—where those who care to go there may be given an opportunity to lay the foundation of a new life. The Jew in central Europe has been and is living under a régime where national rights or group rights have been recognized as essential to liberty. He has been deprived of these rights and therefore of liberty.

Doctor PHILIPSON. You said the Jews in central Europe, but you meant the Jews in southeastern Europe, did you not?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes; the Jew who goes from southeastern Europe to Palestine will be going out of that sort of environment. In other words, he knows what it means to recognize group rights. The American citizen may not know what the recognition of group rights means, but the Jews going to Palestine know. It is a part of their political background. They have come to recognize it and accept it as a theory of government. Therefore, whatever government may be established in Palestine—and in that, it seems to me, we are looking into the very far distant future—the Jew will apply the lesson they have learned and will recognize the rights and privileges of the existing non-Jewish population in that land.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Can you tell us about the conditions you found when you visited some of the Jewish communities in Palestine? As I understand it, when you were there you visited some of the Jewish communities.

Doctor LAZARON. You will remember that for years and years our Arab friends have been in that land. There was a very friendly feeling between the Arab and the Jew. Nevertheless, in most instances it was paid for. However, the present situation in Palestine as between the Arab and the Jew is changing. The intelligent Jewish leaders have not hesitated to declare the necessity that Palestine, when it is developed, shall be developed for the benefit of the whole population. The Arabs had done very little up to the time when the Jews went there, and when anyone goes to Palestine with an open mind he can pick out the Jewish colonies from those of the Arabs. He can see from the trees, from the houses, from the red tile roofs of the Jewish villages what Jewish energy and labor and sacrifice have accomplished. The best leadership among the Jewish people to-day is convinced that no steps should be taken that would prejudice the rights of the Arabs.

It would be wrong to adopt an aggressive anti-Arab policy, and under British suzerainty such a thing could be taken. Only within the last 10 days we have heard that one of the colonies, Petoeh Tikvah, or the Gate of Hope Colony, has recently entered into a treaty arrangement with the surrounding Arab tribes looking toward a rapprochement between them, and many of the Arab sheiks in the southern district of Beersheba have emphatically denied their antagonistic attitude toward the Jew. There are many Arabs in Palestine who are in favor of the Jews coming in and building up the land.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you visit those colonies while you were over there?

Doctor LAZARON. I visited a number of Jewish colonies.

The CHAIRMAN. How many are there in Palestine?

Doctor LAZARON. Before the war there 43 Jewish colonies, but during the war there was some destruction and some were eliminated.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the first Jewish colony organized in Palestine?

Doctor LAZARON. Some 50 years or more ago, by Lord Rothschild. I have not that definite information.

The CHAIRMAN. But before the war there were about 43?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many are there now?

Mr. LIPSKY. Seventy-two.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us an approximate estimate of the number of inhabitants of each colony?

Doctor LAZARON. No, sir; I can not.

Mr. LIPSKY. We can provide the statistics. The large colonies have about 3,000 inhabitants, and the number goes down to colonies with about 50 in-

habitants. The newer colonies that have been established in Palestine are mostly on the cooperative basis, because they are composed of working people generally, who are engaging in cooperative agricultural work.

Doctor LAZARON. The sum total of the population of all the colonies is somewhere between 65,000 and 80,000.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood there are 76,000 Jews there.

Mr. LIPSKY. That includes the population in the cities.

Doctor PHILIPSON. The entire Jewish population is about 76,000.

Mr. LIPSKY. The total Jewish population is estimated to be between 75,000 and 85,000, and the population dwelling in the agricultural colonies would be about 12,000. There are about 12,000 in colonies that are established on their own foundations and maintained by individuals, and probably about 3,000 or 4,000 in those cooperative colonies. There are about 16,000, all told, working on farms.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon my interruption, Doctor, but I wanted that information in the record.

Mr. MOORES. Did not Sir Moses Montefiore establish a Zionist colony somewhere?

Doctor LAZARON. He made visits to Palestine and attempted to bring certain Jewish people there.

Doctor PHILIPSON. He visited Palestine.

Mr. MOORES. Did he not form a colony somewhere?

Doctor PHILIPSON. No, sir; he founded no colonies at all.

Doctor LAZARON. The whole situation sums itself up in my mind in this way: The Jewish people of the world, through the generosity of Great Britain and through the Balfour pronouncement, have been given the opportunity to go to Palestine, and there, by the sweat of their brows, to lay the foundation of a new life. They do not ask for any special privileges.

If I understand the spirit of the Jewish people, the Jewish pioneer in Palestine says, "Give me this opportunity; I do not want any special privilege." When I was in Palestine I saw about 2,000 young men who had come from some section of southeastern Europe, and they were breaking stone under the pitiless, blinding Palestine sun. I spoke to them and said, "Are you disappointed, or did you expect to do this sort of thing when you came?" They said, "We did not expect to do this, and we were disappointed, but only the weaker ones go." I said to them, "What do you want to do?" They said, "We want to dig in the soil of the Holy Land with our hands. We want to get back to the land." That, gentlemen, is all that the Jew asks. Now, since you have adopted a policy of restricted immigration to this country, which I think is wise, and since the only place in the world where the Jew can go and get any opportunity is in the South American Republics, and since there are hundreds of thousands of Jews in southeastern Europe who are knocking at the frontiers of every one of those lands saying, "Let me out, I want to go to Palestine," I think they should have this opportunity. I do not want to go; my children do not want to go; but, as a Jew, and recognizing the fact that a sister nation like Great Britain has assumed the responsibility for this mandate under whose terms justice is assured to all, I say that when these Jews come to us and say, "Give us this opportunity; we do not want any favors, but we only want a chance," and that is all they ask. I say the opportunity should be given them. The passage of this resolution merely states to the world that our country takes its stand by Great Britain in desiring to confer upon the Jews who care to go to Palestine the chance that they ask. That, gentlemen, to my mind, is a summary of the whole situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Before the Balfour declaration was made, there was nothing to hinder any Jew who desired to go to Palestine from going, was there?

Doctor LAZARON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was true for, perhaps, at least 50 years, because they have been establishing colonies there during that time. The difficulty that is experienced in going now has arisen since the Balfour declaration was made.

Mr. FISH. Of course, a Jew might have been able to go to Palestine during the Turkish régime, but he was never assured of his property rights. His possessions might be taken away from him at any time, and there were all kinds of trouble under the Turkish régime. There was no absolute security under Turkish rule, whether in Palestine or any other place. Naturally, the Jewish people would not like to take the chance of going there and securing property without knowing what would happen to it.



Doctor LAZARON. And even more than that, because during the war the group sections of Europe where, perhaps, more than one-half of the Jews of the world live, were devastated, and hundreds of thousands of Jews lived out in the forests under lean-tos. Then, through the activities of the Zionist organization, this hope that had burned in the heart of the Jew for centuries seemed about to be realized. It became, not a dream or a fancy, but it was lifted into the realm of practical politics through the pronouncement of the Balfour declaration.

Mr. FISH. There are thousands of Jews to-day in such cities as Vienna, Warsaw, and Budapest, for instance, where they are out of work and where they are starving. They would be glad of this opportunity to go to Palestine, would they not?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

Mr. FISH. There is one other question I would like to ask you: Many of the speakers here have said that the Jew is simply a commission merchant or business man, and does not know how to till the soil. I know that in many instances Jews have been successful agriculturists in this country, and we have in the United States Jewish agricultural societies. I know that in my own district we have quite a considerable number of Jewish farmers who are a little more prosperous than the ordinary farmers. There is nothing that I can see that would prevent the Jew from going back and becoming a very good farmer. Do you know of anything that would prevent them from going back to the land and becoming farmers?

Doctor LAZARON. No, sir. One of the reasons that prompted Great Britain to issue the Balfour declaration was that that country is now a link in the chain of the British Empire, and the only people who will get down to the soil are the Jews, and England knows that.

Mr. COCKRAN. You mean the soil of Palestine?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. The majority of those who go there, go for that purpose, do they not?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is the only opportunity open to them, is it not? The only industry that is open to the Jew at this stage in Palestine is agriculture of some form, or the cultivation of the soil, so that if he goes there, he must go there with the intention of making a living out of the soil primarily.

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

I just want to give you one picture of the relationship between the Arab and the Jew. I do not want to take up too much of the committee's time, but this is a matter I would like to present. Last Easter, a year ago, there was a riot at Joppa, and in the little suburb of Tel Alsib, just outside of Joppa, still suffering from the blow, still fearful of the Arabs, the Jewish people were living under tents. At Rishon L' Tzion, 8 miles out of Joppa, there is a beautiful Jewish colony. Before the Jew came there that was all desert land, but now it is all blooms and blossoms. There are about 3,000 people there. Now, to my complete surprise, when we approached Rishon we saw scores of Arabs, who were leaving the colony and going to their villages around about. Those Arabs had been employed by the Jewish people in that colony for the vintage season. I say this to you in order to show you how deeply forgiving is the spirit of the Jew, because 20 of his brethren had been killed just a few months previously. Nevertheless he was giving employment and living in peace with the murderers of his brethren.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know that you would be justified in calling the trouble at Joppa a pogrom. The British investigation disclosed that there was a controversy between Bolshevik Jews or labor-party Jews—

Mr. COCKRAN (interposing). Are you quite accurate in that? The preliminary statement says that it was started from a rumor going out among the Arabs that certain Arabs were held as prisoners in a Jewish colony. That was the preliminary statement, and it was stated that various efforts were made to spread among the Arabs information that that was not true. That is called the preliminary report.

Mr. MOORES. How extensively is Hebrew spoken in Palestine?

Doctor LAZARON. Practically entirely among the colonies, and especially among the children.

Mr. MOORES. Do they speak Hebrew or Yiddish?

Doctor LAZARON. Those who have just come usually speak Yiddish. There is quite a problem in the education of the children of the recent immigrants, because the children who are growing up go to school and learn Hebrew, and

very frequently the parents can not understand it. However, Hebrew is the language of Palestine.

Mr. MOORES. Hebrew language is used among the Jews there?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOORES. Do the Arabs speak Turkish or Arabic?

Doctor LAZARON. Arabic.

Mr. COCKRAN. I did not have the benefit of hearing the beginning of your address, but I gather from your answer to Mr. Fish's question that you have traveled through those countries of Europe where the Jewish question is quite acute?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. You have seen the condition of the Jew in central and south-eastern Europe?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. Is it not a fact that in a great many of those eastern countries, especially those that have been newly set up as independent nationalities, there is a disposition to exclude the Jews or to drive them out, as, for instance, from Poland?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. When he is driven from one country and reaches the frontier, he is stopped by the authorities of the other country and driven back, so that the most of them are practically wanderers.

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir; that is it.

Mr. COCKRAN. Is there any place in Europe to-day where there is a prospect of the Jew finding a resting place, or a place where he may exercise his industrial powers? Is there any place for him to go?

Doctor LAZARON. Nowhere except to the South American republics, Mexico, or possibly south Africa.

Mr. COCKRAN. He is practically excluded now under the immigration laws of the United States, is he not?

Mr. CONNALLY. That statement is hardly fair, because he is not excluded from the United States as a Jew.

Mr. COCKRAN. He is not excluded as a Jew, but under the operation of the immigration act he is practically excluded from coming from those European centers of Jewish population. What I am asking now is whether, outside of the South American republics, which are at a greater distance from Europe, and to which the cost of transportation is great, there is a spot anywhere in or around Europe where the Jew can cultivate the soil, or where he could be admitted to what might be called an industrial opportunity?

Doctor LAZARON. There is no place, and that is quite true. Besides that, there is the desire of hundreds of thousands of Jews for Palestine.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is the spiritual side of it, but I was speaking of the political and economic aspect of it.

Mr. MOORES. Are there any periodicals published by the Jews in Palestine?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir; there are three journals published by the Hasolel Publishing Co., one in Hebrew, one in Arabic, and one in English. The English journal is the Palestine Weekly.

Mr. MOORES. One is printed in Hebrew, and not in Yiddish?

Doctor LAZARON. They are printed in Hebrew, Arabic, and Yiddish.

Mr. MOORES. In printing in modern Hebrew do they use the vowel mark?

Doctor LAZARON. No, sir; they do not in the newspapers.

Mr. MOORE. I want to ask one question: As I understand it, the Balfour pronouncement is embodied almost literally in the terms of the mandate under which Great Britain proposes to act in Palestine. The exact provisions of the regulations under which she is going to act hereafter have been, as we are informed, submitted to the English Parliament and have been submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval this month. Have you studied the draft containing those provisions and regulations with a view to determining how far they go or what is proposed? Have you had occasion to do that?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir; I have read through the draft of the mandate.

Mr. MOORE. The reason I ask you that is this: You seem to premise your discussion altogether upon the terms of the Balfour declaration, and I wanted to know if you had gone further and considered the terms that are carried in this draft?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir; I have read the draft of the mandate.

Mr. MOORE. There is not anything there that changes your view?

Doctor LAZARON. No, sir.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Doctor, there is one thing I would like for you to explain to the committee: Yesterday there was something said about Doctor Eder or about some statement that he made in reference to wanting to make Palestine solely a Jewish home. I want to know whether you know anything about that, or whether that is really the prevalent idea among the Jews.

Doctor LAZARON. There are among all parties radical leaders, who in the enthusiasm of the moment will express themselves perhaps unwisely. That happened in this instance, just as it will happen everywhere. Some such expression as this has been used by Doctor Weizmann: "We will make Palestine just as Jewish as England is English." I believe that has been discountenanced and is not accepted by the conservative leaders of the Jewish people at all.

Now, gentlemen, in conclusion let me state a summary of my position: I am not talking as a Zionist. Of course, I must speak as a Jew, but I am not interested in the political end of this thing at all. I am interested in the opportunity which Great Britain has given to the Jewish people to build up Palestine, together with the Arabs, and not with any preferential rights or privileges. I am interested as an American citizen in seeing our country, so long as this resolution has been introduced, take its stand by the side of Great Britain in this matter, which is one of humanity.

Mr. FISH. You have read this resolution, a copy of which I introduced, and which is known as the Lodge resolution?

Doctor LAZARON. Yes, sir.

Mr. FISH. I understand that you are in favor of this particular resolution?

Doctor LAZARON. I am in favor of the Lodge resolution, because it embodies that phrase.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you sit down, Doctor, I call your attention to the statement attributed to Doctor Eder in the report of the commission of inquiry on the disturbances in May, 1921, as follows:

"He stated that, in his opinion, there can only be one national home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between the Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish predominance as soon as the numbers of that race are sufficiently increased."

Doctor LAZARON. I do not agree with that point of view at all.

Mr. COCKRAN. Why would they not have the predominant voice in the government if their numbers were greater than those of the other people in the country? How could you have any government or society if some one were not predominant or if the majority were not predominant? If the majority does not rule, then the minority must.

Doctor LAZARON. I believe that question was discussed before you came in. We discussed the question of what probably would be the future form of any Jewish commonwealth there.

The CHAIRMAN. For your information, Mr. Cockran, I will say that I asked him if the Jews would not control the Government when they had a majority.

Mr. COCKRAN. Why would they not do so? Who would have the control if the majority did not have it?

Mr. LINTHICUM. Perhaps the Jews would not wish to elect all the officers from their own people.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is not the question, but they would control it just as much if they elected others.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I believe that six or eight years ago they had a Jewish mayor of Rome, and in that case the Italians certainly did not criticise their control by the election of one of their own people.

Mr. COCKRAN. There can be no objection to majority control.

Doctor LAZARON. I believe that the mandate would be carried out, guaranteeing, as it does, the civil and political rights of other people.

Mr. FISH. There are some congressional districts in New York City that are overwhelmingly Jewish in population, but they elect Christians from those districts to represent them. The same thing would probably occur over there.

Mr. LINTHICUM. That is the way I take it.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. Fish asked you whether or not you favored this particular resolution, and you expressed your desire that the United States stand by the side of Great Britain and support the project. Now, what do you think of the proposition that Great Britain might feel that she was entirely capable of attending to this matter without any suggestion from us?

Dr. LAZARON. That is another question. Perhaps it might have been wiser if it had not been introduced.

Mr. CONNALLY. Would not that go to the propriety of this resolution?

Mr. COCKRAN. I do not think we should ratify the acts of any foreign government.

Mr. FISH. I want at this juncture to make a statement to the committee in regard to the resolutions before the committee if I may have the permission of the Chairman. I introduced the original resolution as a concurrent resolution, then I introduced another resolution, of exactly the same character, as a joint resolution, because I thought it would be of greater effect if the President signed it. Then I understood from certain sources that Senator Lodge had seen the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, and that he had approved the so-called Lodge resolution, and that resolution has also been introduced. I have no preference between the resolutions and gladly leave the choice entirely in the hands of the committee. Of course, the committee will have to decide which resolution they desire to adopt. As I have said, the so-called Lodge resolution has the approval of the Secretary of State. The resolution that I introduced has been seen by the Secretary of State, and he has commented on it and suggested certain corrections. He has no objection to it. The other one has the approval of the Secretary of State. Both of the resolutions will come before the committee in executive session, and it will be up to the committee to decide which of them they want to adopt or reject.

Mr. COCKRAN. I do not think we should be put in the position of asking the witness to express a preference as between the resolutions.

Mr. FISH. If the gentleman has a preference in the matter, I think it is but fair to allow him to express it.

Mr. COCKRAN. I am perfectly willing to express my sympathy with the idea, but when it comes to ratifying the specific acts of some other country, I do not think we should do it.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I did not exactly understand you, Mr. Cockran. Do you not think that the witness should express a preference as between the resolutions?

Mr. COCKRAN. Mr. Fish asked him that question. I do not think he should be asked to express any preference.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The witness has a perfect right to express a preference for this resolution.

Mr. COCKRAN. He has that right—that is true.

#### STATEMENT OF RABBI DAVID PHILIPSON, OF CINCINNATI, OHIO.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the proceedings thus far. I will try to present this matter to you from a different angle, possibly, than has been done thus far. There seems to be a sort of idea, especially among nonJews, that this whole matter of a Palestine commonwealth, or the Balfour declaration, is congenial to all Jews. There is a very decided difference of opinion upon it, and I do not know that this has been brought out before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been to some extent.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I think it should be brought out.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like for you to give us the details.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I would like to speak first from that standpoint, and, secondly, from the standpoint of an American. There is a very decided cleavage of opinion among the Jews in this country on the matter of Zionism. There are those of us who feel that Jewish nationalism does not express the true interpretation of Judaism. We feel that Judaism is a religion, and that we are nationals of the country in which we are born and in which we live.

That is the decided opinion of quite a large number of Jews, and to prove this statement of mine I will read to you some official documents of great representative organizations of Jews. The chief lay organization of Jews in this country, so far as the liberal Jews are concerned, is the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. That organization comprises, I think, nearly 300 congregations, some of them the largest in the country and ranging down to the smallest ones. That organization meets in council every two years. Shortly after the Zionist movement was launched the Union of American Hebrew Congregations had a meeting in Richmond, where they adopted a resolution on that subject. In all the subsequent conventions that resolution has never been changed, and it stands today. That resolution reads as follows:

"We are unalterably opposed to political Zionism. The Jews are not a nation, but a religious community. Zion was a precious possession of the past, the early home of our faith, where our prophets uttered their world-subduing

thoughts, and our psalmists sang their world-enchancing hymns. As such it is a holy memory, but it is not our hope of the future. America is our Zion. Here, in the home of religious liberty we have aided in founding this new Zion, the fruition of the beginning laid in the old. The mission of Judaism is spiritual, not political. Its aim is not to establish a State, but to spread the truths of religion and humanity throughout the world."

That resolution was adopted at Richmond in 1897, and it has never been rescinded or amended. There has been no further action taken on the subject by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and therefore it can safely be said that that official pronouncement still stands.

Now there is a large rabbinical association in America known as the Central Conference of American Rabbis. That is a very large organization, and it comprises fully 250 leading rabbis of the country. This organization has expressed itself upon this subject a number of times. Of course, there are some men in that organization who are Zionists, and they have persistently brought this matter up time after time. I have here some official expressions of the Central Conference of American rabbis upon the subject. In 1897, just at the time of the launching of this Zionist movement, they adopted this resolution.

Mr. FISH. That was before the war?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes, sir; but they have done the same thing since the war. In 1897 they adopted this resolution:

"Resolved, That we totally disapprove of any attempt for the establishment of a Jewish State. Such attempts show a misunderstanding of Israel's mission, which, from the narrow political and national field, has been expanded to the promotion among the whole human race of the broad and universalistic religion first proclaimed by the Jewish prophets. Such attempts do not benefit, but infinitely harm our Jewish brethren where they are still persecuted by confirming the assertion of their enemies that the Jews are foreigners in the countries in which they are at home, and of which they are everywhere the most loyal and patriotic citizens.

"We reaffirm that the object of Judaism is not political nor national, but spiritual, and addresses itself to the continuous growth of peace, justice, and love in the human race, to a messianic time when all men will recognize that they form 'one great brotherhood' for the establishment of God's kingdom on earth." (Central Conference of American Rabbis—Yearbook, Vol vii, p. 41.)

Doctor PHILIPSON. Is it not transporting the east European attitude of mind to America?

The CHAIRMAN. I can not see that.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Bringing the group thought and the group idea into America from those countries where the Jews are forced to be a group minority.

Mr. COCKRAN. They will not come here.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I mean the state of mind that the Jews are a separate group, a separate national group. This is east European. It is not American.

Mr. COCKRAN. You say the Jews do not entertain that thought. But it is held by others?

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is the idea.

Mr. COCKRAN. That it has on the American mind that effect.

Mr. FISH. You have seemed to object to the passage of any of these resolutions. I would like to ask your attitude of mind on the League of Nations. Did you favor the League of Nations?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Very much.

Mr. FISH. It seems to me you have taken a contradictory position. You favored the League of Nations, yet you oppose this resolution, partly on the ground that the United States might perchance enter into some entanglement.

Mr. CONNALLY. Even as contradictory as the gentlemen's attitude, who is very much opposed to the League of Nations and now wants to help run it.

Mr. FISH. I am very much opposed to it.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Might I say this about the League of Nations? I was not concerned so much with the separate articles of the League of Nations. I was concerned with the great idea of the League of Nations and the great idea of forming that state of mind which might bring the world to what they wanted to be. I am not concerned with separate articles of the covenant of the League of Nations. There may be some things in those articles with which I am entirely at variance, but not with the great idea of the League of Nations.

FISH. I think everybody likes the idea of a League of Nations.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Exactly.

Mr. FISH. But it depends on the League of Nations.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I want to say this, that I believe if we had ratified the covenant of the League of Nations as adopted at Versailles there would have been created a world state of mind that would have brought the world nearer to peace than is the case to-day, but that is all past. I do not think that has very much to do with the subject in hand.

Mr. FISH. I think it has a great deal to do with it. There is one other matter that I would like to put in the record. That is the telegram of Rabbi Stephen Wise, who, I understand, is a member of the reform branch.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Of a very radical branch.

Mr. FISH. The same branch that belongs to the reform church?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes.

(The telegram referred to is as follows):

NEW YORK, April 20, 1922.

HON. HAMILTON FISH, Jr.,

*House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

Regret impossible to appear before Foreign Affairs Committee meeting Friday morning. Earnestly hope for favorable action by committee on your resolution which represents the sympathies of the American people and meets the hopes of vast majority of American Jews.

STEPHEN WISE.

Mr. CONNALLY. Which one of the resolutions which you have introduced?

Mr. FISH. No. 52.

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is his opinion, just as I have given you my personal opinion, except that I have also read resolutions by the respective organizations.

Mr. COOPER. Maybe that will explain the questions and answers.

Mr. MOORES. Ever since you made a statement, I wanted to ask a certain question. Along the line of the statement that Judaism was a religion rather than a race, the Rev. Dr. Messing, whom you know very well, told me that there were a very considerable number of Negro Jews in Africa. Is that true?

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is another story. Do you want to hear more from me or have you heard enough?

Mr. MOORES. Is that true?

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is a peculiar thing. It is most interesting. There was found in the eighteenth century by a Christian missionary a group of people of strange rites and ceremonies on the heights of Abyssinia, and in an investigation of these rites and ceremonies they were found to be very like the Jewish rites. They are called Falashas, which means stranger. They are not Negroes exactly; they are black. They observe the Jewish holidays.

Mr. MOORES. They keep the laws of Moses?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes; they observe the laws of Moses. They do not observe all the later laws. They remain a compact body in Abyssinia. We have a number of those Jewish colonies. One is in China. They had one Hebrew word, the word meaning Lord, and then there are also the Beni Israel of India. They are black, but not Negroes. The Jews of China are a very interesting group. Those must have become separated from the Jews long before the destruction of Jerusalem.

Mr. COOPER. You say, or I understood you to say, that this agitation began with the Balfour resolution, which tends to accentuate the alienism of the Jews in the minds of the non-Jews?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Not any doubt of it; long before that.

Mr. COOPER. I know; but that tended to accentuate it?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. Has not the alienism of the Jew been accentuated and originated by the persecutions of Christians and other so-called religious peoples for fifteen or eighteen hundred years? Is that not what brought about the alienism in the minds of the great mass of others?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes, sir; partially true.

Mr. COOPER. It originated and keeps accentuated the alienism of people who do not live over in that country; that there is something wrong with the Jews that essentially they are alien to everybody else?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. That is especially true in the minds of ignorant people. That being so, is not the alienism of the Jews, in the minds of the great mass of people

of the world, accentuated by such inhuman things as the recent pogroms in Russia; and if that tends to accentuate the alienism of the Jews, this resolution, if I interpret it—that is what is in my mind, at least—has for its great purpose, and its controlling purpose, the establishment of a refuge where these people who have been persecuted for 2,000 years can go, if they can get there, and everybody else who is in that country, and have perfect freedom of religious worship?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Then why single out Palestine, and not call for a refuge for the Jews everywhere?

That is our idea of the solution of the Jewish problem when the world shall be free. The Jews will knock in vain until freedom comes everywhere.

Mr. COCKRAN. Where would you have them in the meantime—driven from one place to another and not allowed to cultivate the soil or engage in business?

Dr. PHILIPSON. I do not think Palestine at all solves that. Palestine is not open to the Jews. Since the Balfour declaration there are more restrictions against Jews going to Palestine than before.

Mr. COCKRAN. You would not object, would you?

Dr. PHILIPSON. No. What I object to in this Balfour declaration is this: I object to any one country being called the national home of the Jewish people. America is my national home.

Mr. COCKRAN. But you say your countrymen are being driven around.

Dr. PHILIPSON. That may be true under present circumstances. They can not go into Palestine either.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is the object of this resolution.

Dr. PHILIPSON. Not yet. I will come to that afterwards.

Mr. COCKRAN. It has a political side as well as an economic side.

Dr. PHILIPSON. I am coming to that. I think that is an entangling alliance.

Mr. COCKRAN. I want your view of that.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Then in 1917, Mr. Fish, after the United States entered the war, this was adopted by the conference:

"We herewith reaffirm the fundamental principle of reform Judaism that the essence of Israel as a priest-people consists in its religious consciousness and in the sense of consecration to God and service in the world and not in any political or racial or national consciousness. And, therefore, we look with disfavor upon the new doctrine of political Jewish nationalism, which finds the criterion of Jewish loyalty in anything other than loyalty to Israel's God and Israel's religious mission."

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage of the rabbis of the United States belong to this central conference?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Practically all the liberal rabbis belong to it. But, of course, the orthodox do not. They have an organization of their own, and even there there is a cleavage. There is a section that does not favor the political efforts of the Zionists.

Mr. COCKRAN. What proportion do the reform Jews bear to the orthodox?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I do not think statistics have been taken. The reform Jews are in the minority as far as numbers are concerned. We always say that numbers do not count. God and one are a majority.

Mr. COCKRAN. That nobody will dispute.

Mr. FISH. Is Rabbi Wise a member of the reformed Jews?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes, sir, and he is a Zionist. I said before that there are some Zionists among the reform rabbis. They are, however, in a great minority. It is they who have persistently sought to secure an indorsement of the Zionist movement by the conference, but they have never succeeded. Five times they have been defeated by large majorities.

Mr. FISH. Would you mind before making that statement if I put in the record a telegram received this morning from Rabbi Stephen Wise?

Doctor PHILIPSON. You can do it afterwards. I have no discussion here with Doctor Wise. I often have them but not here.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Doctor.

Doctor PHILIPSON. This is the next one, in 1918.

"The central conference of American Rabbis notes with grateful appreciation the declaration of the British Government by Mr. Balfour as an evidence of good will toward the Jews. We naturally favor the facilitation of immigration to Palestine of Jews who, either because of economic necessity or religious persecution, desire to settle there."

"We hold that Jews in Palestine, as well as anywhere else in the world, are entitled to equality in political, civil, and religious rights, but we do not sub-

scribe to the phrase in the declaration which says 'Palestine is to be a national homeland for the Jewish people.' This statement assumes that the Jews, although identified with the life of many nations for centuries, are in fact a people without a country. We hold that Jewish people are and of right ought to be at home in all lands. Israel, like every other religious communion, has the right to live and assert its message in any part of the world. We are opposed to the idea that Palestine should be considered the homeland of the Jews. Jews in America are a part of the American Nation. The ideal of the Jew is not the establishment of a Jewish state—not the reassertion of Jewish nationality, which has long been outgrown. We believe that our survival as a people is dependent upon the assertion and the maintenance of our historic religious rôle and not upon the assertion and the acceptance of Palestine as a home-land of the Jewish people. The mission of the Jew is to witness to God all over the world."

The last one adopted was in Rochester, N. Y., in 1920, and reaffirmed here in Washington last spring, 1921. It is as follows:

"We indorse the action of the President in declining the invitation"—

That is, the president of the conference—

"declining the invitation of the Zionist organization of America to appoint a delegation to participate in the extraordinary convention of delegates representing the membership of the Zionist organization held in the city of New York, May 9 and 10, to celebrate the issuance by the San Remo conference of a mandate over Palestine to Great Britain.

"We rejoice, indeed, at the present decision of the San Remo conference to give to Great Britain a mandate over Palestine in line with the Balfour declaration, but we hold to-day what the conference declared anent the Balfour declaration two years ago. We do not subscribe to the phrase in the declaration which says, 'Palestine is to be a national home land for the Jewish people.' We believe that Israel, the Jewish people, like every other religious communion, has the right to live, to be at home, and to assert its message in every part of the world.

"With confidence in the free institutions of Great Britain, we rejoice in and recognize the historic significance of such a British mandate for Palestine, in that it will offer the opportunity to some Jews who may desire to settle there to go there, and to live full, free and happy lives. And if facilities are offered for an appreciable number to go there from lands in which they suffer from religious, political or economic persecution they may be enabled so to shape their communal life that, inspired by the hallowed associations of the land in which Israel's prophets announced world-redeeming ideas, they may become a great spiritual influence.

"While we thus rejoice, we do not, however, admit that this historic event is what it has been called, the Geulah or the redemption of Israel. Convinced that the mission of the Jew is to witness to God all over the world, emphasizing the religious function of Israel, and rejecting any assertion of Jewish nationality, which it has long ago outgrown, we hold that Israel's redemption will only be realized when the Jew will have the right to live in any part of the world, and all racial and religious prejudice and persecution ended, Israel will be free as a religious power and integral part of all nations to give world service."

These are the declarations of these representative organizations. I need not add anything to those except to say this, that here it is a matter of principle as to really what the Jew means in the world. I believe that the Jewish nationalistic movement or Zionism misreads the entire significance of the Jew in the world; it has turned the clock backwards thousands of years. We believe that the Jews have been scattered by Providence throughout the world to live for the world. We also believe that this Jewish question is going to be solved, not by the Balfour declaration, but by full freedom for the Jews to live everywhere as well as in Palestine.

I want to add further that I also am opposed to this resolution indorsing the Balfour declaration, because I am an American citizen. What is this whole Balfour declaration? Yes; what is it? Is it not a part of Old World politics? We refused to go into the Genoa conference. Why? Because European political questions are being discussed there and I think our position is absolutely correct as far as that is concerned. I believe in the League of Nations in its very large sense, and I believe firmly also that with political questions in Asia and Europe we ought to have nothing to do. That is what the Balfour declaration is. That is what it means—a mandate over Palestine.



There is the crux of the matter. Is it not an echo of Franco-Anglican Near East policy? Is it right for the United States to go into a thing of that kind? Why in the world should this be brought on the floor of the House of Representatives? I can not understand it at all. It is none of our business. The Balfour declaration assures Palestine to the Jews, but if we indorse it we are departing from the American policy of having nothing to do with Old World questions. Yes; it is a matter of Franco-British Near East policy. Both of them wanted Palestine and Great Britain secured it. Great Britain wanted it as a buffer State between Egypt and Asia. That is very well known. Great Britain is a wonderful nation. I rejoice that she will have this mandate over Palestine, but I do not think that it is right for the United States Government to meddle. Furthermore, gentlemen, this is another point I want to make: The American Jews are divided on this question. What right has the United States Government to take sides in what is really an internal question? Would the United States Government have had the right to take sides, for example, in the Catholic controversy on the question of papal infallibility that divided the Catholic world in 1869? What would have been said if the United States attempted to do anything of that kind? Has she any right to take sides in the internal concerns of a religious communion whose members differ among themselves?

Mr. COLE. In what proportion are they divided?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I can not say. I do not know. That makes no difference to me. Numbers do not count. This is a matter of principle.

Mr. COLE. One-third against two-thirds?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I can not say. It may be even more. I do not know how they are divided. But they are divided.

Mr. COLE. When it comes to votes that is of importance.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I know it is, but I do not think this is or ought to be made a matter of votes. That is what distresses me, coming down to the matter of votes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what alarms you?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes, sir. I do not believe in the Jewish vote, the Catholic vote, or the Protestant vote in the United States. This talk of the Jewish vote in the United States alarms me very much.

Mr. LINTHICUM. There is one thing that I want to bring out. A good many questions were asked you as to the census, how many your people represent and how many the orthodox represent. As I understand it, it is a Jewish practice in religion not to take a census. Even David in his time did not take a census because it was thought it was contrary to the laws of God.

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is true; but a census has been taken since frequently.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Linthicum mentioned that David did not take a census of the Jews. I rather think that David began to take a census of all of the Twelve Tribes, but did not complete it. That census is quite interesting. The committee was discussing yesterday how many people were under the Palestine mandate, how many people could immigrate there, and how many could the land maintain. That census of David, as I understand, stated that there were 800,000 fighting men, probably between the ages of 18 and 60, and that there was one other tribe of Judah with 300,000 more. That makes 1,100,000 men, showing that there was a population in Palestine at that time of about 4,000,000.

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is exaggerated.

Mr. COLE. Did they all live in Palestine?

Mr. FISH. According to the Bible most of them did. This census of David is the one I am talking about.

Doctor PHILIPSON. No; I did not speak of that.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I brought it up. I think you will find that that is mostly guesswork. I think it was contrary to the laws of the Jews to take a census. That is the reason that David did not take a census.

Mr. FISH. Those are the figures quoted in the Bible.

Doctor PHILIPSON. It is very interesting for me to hear laymen discuss Biblical questions. Furthermore, I want to say that as the conference expressed in one of its resolutions we feel very strongly that this entire agitation by the political Zionists and their constant reference to Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people implants in the minds of non-Jews the thought of the alienism of the Jews everywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I consider this a terrible disservice to the Jews. The Jews have been in this country for centuries; yes, there were Jews with Columbus in

the voyage of discovery. They have been in every war and helped build up the country. Why in God's name shall there be anything that will cast any reflection upon the citizenship and Americanism of the Jew? This has been done. This resolution speaks of establishing a national home for the Jewish people.

What does that mean? It means that Jew is a national term. That is not so. America is my national home. You can not speak of the Jews as the Jewish people in the national sense. You can speak of them religiously but not politically or nationally, because they are English nationals, German nationals, French nationals, Spanish nationals, American nationals, and nationals of all lands as the case may be. You can not speak of the national home of the Jewish people. I would not even speak of a national home for the Jewish people. I would speak of national homes for Jews. This is what I am trying to express, and I believe I speak for those who are called the liberal Jews or Reform Jews, or for all such as have been termed Americans of the Jewish persuasion.

Mr. COCKRAN. Will you explain what you mean by the difference between liberal Jews and orthodox Jews?

Doctor PHILIPSON. That would take us far afield. I would be very glad to send you a volume that I have written, entitled "The Reform Movement in Judaism."

Mr. COCKRAN. Is it so slight that it takes a volume to point it out? [Laughter.]

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes. [Laughter.]

Mr. COCKRAN. If there is not a very wide distinction you could mention it in a few words.

Doctor PHILIPSON. The distinction between the orthodox and reformed Jew is that the reformed Jew has given up certain doctrines, ceremonies, and traditions in this case as in all reform movements. However, I want to emphasize that among the distinctive teachings of Reform Judaism, which arose in the beginning of the nineteenth century, are these—that the Jews are not a nationality; that they do not expect a return to Palestine or a rebuilding of the temple, or a re-establishment of the sacrificial worship under the priesthood of the descendants of Aaron. Further, Reform Jews do not believe in the coming of a personal Messiah, but of the Messianic age of universal peace and good will.

Mr. COCKRAN. To establish a temple?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. That explains the whole thing.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes. This is really a part of the basic principles of this reform movement which the conference has simply been expressing in its resolutions, and this whole matter of the return to Palestine hangs together with this idea of nationalism and the coming of the personal Messiah.

Mr. FISH. You seem to be very much opposed to the national home in this resolution. Suppose we change that and put in a national home?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I am entirely opposed to the Government of the United States aligning itself in any way, be it with the Jews, Catholics, Protestants, or anyone else.

Mr. COCKRAN. The doctor is contributing very clearly to the information of the committee, and I wish to express my personal appreciation.

The CHAIRMAN. The doctor has contributed very largely to this matter.

Mr. FISH. Of course, you have discussed a long time in your statement that you were opposed to the words, "the national home of the Jewish people." We could easily change this to read, "a national home for the Jewish people."

Doctor PHILIPSON. Do you not understand my other objection?

Mr. FISH. I understand, but do not agree. There are a great many different races that have come to the United States. Would you think that if we gave the Czecho-Slovaks, or any one of these races that you might pick out, an expression of sympathy for the land of their birth that they would not be just as good Americans?

Doctor PHILIPSON. You seem to forget this, that the Jews and Judaism are in a class by themselves because they represent a religion. Czecho-Slovak does not represent a religion. We are a religious people. That is our point of view, and we do not want to put the Jews in the same category with the Irish and Czecho-Slavs. That is Zionistic. We say that the Jews are a unique people, that they are a religious people, an international religious people, a religious people that is international.

Mr. FISH. No one disputes it.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Then you can not compare them with the Czecho-Slovaks and the Irish. They are in a class by themselves.

Mr. FISH. Not in a class by themselves, but I believe that from the statements of Members of Congress who have come before this committee representing great Jewish constituencies and familiar with the thoughts and aspirations of these people, that most Jews sympathize with this resolution and want such a resolution passed.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Not with the Jewish people, but with a section of the Jewish people.

Mr. FISH. They say they represent them. You represent, I believe, a very small section. Besides, as you said, you are unable to give any figures.

Doctor PHILIPSON. They have given figures?

Mr. FISH. No; but they come from the people themselves. There is nobody who can say whether it is 90 per cent or 95 per cent. They say 90 to 95 per cent.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I can say 60 per cent if I want to. There are statistics.

Mr. FISH. That is what I would like to arrive at.

Doctor PHILIPSON. According to the figures of the Zionist organization, which is the only thing you can go by, it has not over 30,000 members in this country.

Mr. FISH. They admit that.

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is all we have to go on.

Mr. FISH. It would not make any difference how large the Zionists were in number; as far as what the Jewish people believe. What we would like to find out is, what is your idea. You seem to think that the Jewish people are not overwhelmingly for such a resolution.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I do not say that. I do not know anything about numbers. It means this. In the first place, our interpretation of Judaism is that it is a religious belief. We believe in the Constitution of the United States, and I do not think the American principle permits the Government to take sides in an internal question, as I said before.

Mr. CONNALLY. Your viewpoint, and, of course, it is very clearly expressed, is that we should view this question from the Jewish standpoint as religion?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Under the Balfour declaration and the mandate, I understand that the British mandate under the League of Nations does not become purely a political question.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Absolutely.

Mr. CONNALLY. Do not the terms of that mandate follow your suggestion of the policy, with no religious aspect at all?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Absolutely.

Mr. CONNALLY. But it makes it political.

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is just the point. I am going to say something now which may not be agreeable in some quarters. There are any number of nationalistic Jews who do not care a fig for the religion. They are purely Jews in nationality—that is all—quite a number of them. Their great leader is Max Nordau, almost a confessed unbeliever, but he is the great national leader. Now, Dr. Max Nordau could never be a Jewish leader, according to my interpretation of Judaism. Only a religious Jew could be that. Of course, there are many Zionists who are religious. I simply can not understand how such can accept irreligious leadership.

Mr. CONNALLY. Not from the Jewish standpoint, but from the Gentile standpoint, when a Gentile speaks of a Jew, does he mean a man whose ancestors happened to have lived in Palestine 100 or 300 years or a thousand years ago or does he speak of a type that is known the world over for particular characteristics that distinguish him, from a religious standpoint?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I can not answer for the Gentile.

Mr. CONNALLY. You certainly can answer as to what the popular meaning of the word is.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I would say yes. You can not dissociate the experiences of a great group of people from what has been the outcome of those experiences. Now, the Jews were excluded for 15 centuries. They were put into ghettos and not allowed outside of the ghettos. I do not know Washington very well, but suppose a street here 20 feet wide and possibly a quarter of a mile long and imagine on both sides of that street great towering buildings in which hundreds of people are herded like cattle and not allowed to leave there after sundown and excluded from decent occupations. What would be the result of that? The result would be the formation of certain characteristics. Pursue

the policy of the Christian states of the Middle Ages toward the Jews—disallowing them agriculture, disallowing them the trades, disallowing them the professions except medicine, which they could not disallow, because the Jews could study that of their own accord—with any other people, and I believe that there will result the same so-called traits which are called Jewish traits to-day.

Mr. CONNALLY. You misunderstood me. What I meant was this: When I speak of a German I mean a man whose ancestors are from Germany, and when I speak of a Frenchman I mean a man whose ancestors were from France. When we speak of Jews we do not necessarily mean his ancestors lived in Palestine, but we speak of Jews as a particular, distinct, religious type, irrespective of where he was born or where he came from.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Exactly.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is what I had in mind.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I thank you for that, because I think that is the general Christian interpretation.

Mr. CONNALLY. He is a Jew whether from Germany or whether he is from Austria.

Doctor PHILIPSON. He is a Jew because he is a follower of the religion.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is it.

Mr. COCKRAN. Is that really so, or is not he a Jew also because he is from a certain family, descendants of Abraham?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Of course.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is really what I wanted to call your attention to.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. Is it entirely fair to speak of a Jew as simply a religion, saying that would make him a Jew, if he confesses Judaism?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes; I get your point.

Mr. COCKRAN. I would have great difficulty in passing for one.

Doctor PHILIPSON. We feel highly complimented.

Mr. COCKRAN. No; I mean this. The Jew, of course, is a religion.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. But also a family closer than a people, a people so absolutely distinct that you can differentiate them no matter where they are. That is so, is it?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes; but I want to add to it.

Mr. COCKRAN. First, will you agree to that?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I will agree to that in the large and in the main.

Mr. COCKRAN. Go ahead.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I will also add to that this: That any people, no matter what their origin, who accept the Jewish religion, are Jews.

Mr. COCKRAN. Yes.

Doctor PHILIPSON. For instance, there were large accessions to the Jews in the Middle Ages, among a people known as the Chazars dwelling in Russia. The King, the nobles, and many of the people became converted to Judaism. That made them Jews, no matter though they were Chazars in nationality.

Mr. COCKRAN. You also believe in historic facts?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. That every Jew in the world, no matter where he is, that is a Jew, belongs to the family that are descendants of a single couple who were promised the indestructibility of their race, that is, practically, from their Creator, no matter what would happen, promised, I believe to the end of time that when a single act of obedience was exercised by the father of them all, who was told to take the first born and commanded to kill him, and lifted his hand and was stopped and told that to the end of time his seed should occupy the earth. They are, therefore, a separate race. Is that part of your belief?

Doctor PHILIPSON. It is part of my belief if you associate it with the Jewish religion.

Mr. COCKRAN. Of course, it is religion.

Doctor PHILIPSON. But that is the chief thing. If the Jews, for example, throughout the world, were to throw off their faith, I would say that they are entirely recreant to their own mission.

Mr. COCKRAN. If they throw off their faith they would perish. That is what I am told explains it.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Here are thousands of National Jews who do.

Mr. COCKRAN. But you have this enormous number of Jews, who regard it as a religion or otherwise. How many Jews in the world?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Fourteen or fifteen million.

Mr. COCKRAN. Wherever they are they are distinguishable from other people by certain unmistakable physical characteristics.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Do you think so?

Mr. COCKRAN. If you dispute that, of course.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I am not disputing that at all. Now, in regard to what is considered the Jewish type. There are hundreds and hundreds of Jews who have come to this country from Russia, who are absolutely different in coloring and features from what is usually considered the Jewish type. The Jewish type as usually thought of is a dark person with black hair.

Mr. COCKRAN. I have seen blond Jews and Jewesses very fair to look upon. But there is no mistaking the characteristics. What I mean is this? There are, as far as we know, possibly, people in Judea who have mingled with other peoples, Gentile races outside, and, of course, the result would be characteristics of both. You do not dispute that there is in the world to-day a number of men who can be distinguished from others by certain characteristics, and who belong to what we call the Jewish family. I do not think it is even a race. I call them a family. You will not dispute it.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I would not dispute that.

Mr. COCKRAN. You will not dispute either, I take it, that those Jews, as stated, have been the object of fierce persecution ever since the temple of Jerusalem was captured, and they were scattered all over the world. You do not dispute that?

Doctor PHILIPSON. No; I surely do not.

Mr. COCKRAN. I think you will also agree with me as a general thing that the persecutions were initiated after there had been the greatest misrepresentations about the rites and practices, they even being accused in the Middle Ages of taking children and slaughtering them and using the blood of infants as part of their sacrifices. That was generally the basis of the persecutions that arose.

Doctor PHILIPSON. And of the early Christians in Rome also.

Mr. COCKRAN. Exactly. That is why they went into the catacombs.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. To this day we hear accusations that are made against them right here now. We are told by these gentlemen who come from Palestine that they are not going to be let in. If there is danger of their becoming a majority, they will be excluded. You agree that there is no place on earth where a great many of them can go to.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes, sir; they could go to South America.

Mr. COCKRAN. Providing they had the fare.

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is not the question.

Mr. COCKRAN. I am merely getting certain facts which seem very important to me. I do not care whether it is a majority or a minority or whether it is this, that, or the other thing. What I am thinking about here is that it is the interest of the whole human family. Now, those Jews, great numbers of them, have not any place except in South America which is practically inaccessible to them on account of the expense of transportation to go there. There is only this one place on earth, Palestine. You do not dispute that?

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is all beside the question, but I will let you finish.

Mr. COCKRAN. I am coming to that. Can there be any objection, then, to any expression of opinion here that would favor allowing those persons to find in Palestine a home by the American Congress—in favor of allowing these persons to find a place of asylum in Palestine to which they are admittedly agreed to go and to protect them after they have arrived by giving them security for their persons, property, and whatever they produce? Would there be any objection to that?

Doctor PHILIPSON. If it were the absolute thing, standing by itself, I should say no; but I must modify my statement. This whole matter of Palestine and the Balfour declaration can not be made to stand by itself, because it is connected with the Old World politics, the Franco-British dispute arising from the Near East policy of those nations. I say that the traditional American policy should be continued and that we should not become entangled in matters of that kind. We would not adopt a mandate over Armenia.

Mr. COCKRAN. We are not speaking of a mandate.

Doctor PHILIPSON. It is the same policy.

Mr. COCKRAN. Surely you do not dispute that it is American to express sympathy for the Greeks and the Irish?

Doctor PHILIPSON. This is not sympathy.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is all there is in this resolution.

Doctor PHILIPSON. It expresses: "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

Mr. COCKRAN. That I oppose myself. I would not vote for that.

Mr. FISH. Here is the other one, House Concurrent Resolution 52.

Mr. COCKRAN. I would not vote for the passage of this one. I never saw this resolution until this morning. Here is the resolution that we are conducting our hearings on, House Concurrent Resolution No. 52:

"Whereas the Jewish people for many centuries have believed in and yearned for the rebuilding of their ancient homeland; and

"Whereas owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein the Jewish people, under definite and adequate international guaranties are to be enabled, with due regard to the rights of all elements of the population of Palestine, and to the sanctity of its holy places, to re-create and reorganize a national home in the land of their fathers: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That the Congress of the United States hereby expresses its profound satisfaction in that outcome of the victorious war which promises the building up of a new and beneficent life in Palestine, rejoices in this act of historic justice about to be consummated; and, on behalf of the American people, commends an undertaking which will do honor to Christendom and give to the house of Israel its long-denied opportunity to reestablish a fruitful Jewish life and culture in the ancient Jewish land."

You would not object to that?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I will tell you after I read it. I have not seen it except as you have read it.

Mr. COCKRAN. Very well.

Doctor PHILIPSON (after reading the resolution). In the first place, I object to the term "Jewish people."

Mr. COCKRAN. You just said you recognize them as separate.

Doctor PHILIPSON. A Jewish religious people. This is something entirely different.

Mr. COCKRAN. You said there are a great many Jews who are not religious.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I did.

Mr. COCKRAN. Then, your objection to that is that "the Jewish people" is not a good descriptive term?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Exactly.

Mr. COCKRAN. Then we can exercise our judgment about that.

Doctor PHILIPSON. A national home of their own. This says a national Jewish home.

Mr. COCKRAN. You object to a place of abode or refuge, because if it is a mere objection to words, that could easily be adjusted.

Mr. CONNALLY. If you would just strike out everything so that it would not mean anything, then it would not be of value one way or the other.

Mr. COCKRAN. A place of abode is a great deal more than that. It is one step, anyway. It means a capacity of living or not having a place to live.

Mr. COOPER. The gentleman said to substitute refuge for home.

Mr. MOORES. Reestablish it for a refuge in Palestine.

Mr. COCKRAN. I want the doctor's objection to this first.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, as you read it, does that ratify by implication the action of the League of Nations at San Remo?

Mr. COCKRAN. I suggest we are as good judges of that as he is.

The CHAIRMAN. And the policy.

Doctor PHILIPSON. This is the first I have seen of it.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is the reason I am questioning you. I want to see if there are points where we can all get together.

Doctor PHILIPSON. This is a tremendously important thing, and I can not give any snap judgment nor give any offhand opinion in regard to it.

Mr. COCKRAN. I did not ask you for a general opinion. I asked if there was anything in that to which you object personally, and that is the point I want to get your objection on, because it might be met. I do not care fourpence how many Jews are for or against it. I am considering simply the condition which

exists throughout the world actually, the great number of men who can not find a place on which to pitch a tent. But this speaks for a place of refuge only, and this is simply an expression of sympathy with them, and that is as far as I am willing to go. I do not propose to consider any Balfour declaration or anything else that belongs to a foreign Government.

Mr. COOPER. While you are considering that, may I ask you a question? Of course, it is in your mind; I know you by reputation, and it is in your mind. You say for 2,000 years they have persecuted the Jews, or practically that. They have, and persecutions are active to-day.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. Only very recently, only a week ago—last Sunday—I read a detailed account of what purported to be the murder in the Ukraine, a monstrous, inhuman act; the murder of approximately 300,000 Jews—fathers, mothers, children—recently, since the war.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. COOPER. In the Ukraine.

Doctor PHILIPSON. A very terrible condition. It is terrible.

Mr. COOPER. One of the most inhuman butcheries in all human history. The question that now comes to me is this: What are the so-called orthodox Jews? What is their number to-day?

Mr. COCKRAN. There is a question pending which I think you had better let him answer first. You can not possibly study that if asked a number of other matters at the same time. I hope you will answer the question of mine first.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I do not believe, for example, that this whole Palestine business will in any way help out the Jewish situation, except in a very small way.

Mr. COCKRAN. Even a small way?

Doctor PHILIPSON. A very small way.

Mr. COCKRAN. Even in a small way, would there be any objection to helping them out in this situation? Mr. Cooper has just suggested one manifestation of it. I think even a more serious situation than that is the fact that hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children are not allowed even to pitch their tents in a certain place, but are driven from one place to another. This is merely an expression of opinion on this subject. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that they are anxious to go—that they be allowed to go.

Doctor PHILIPSON. They are allowed to go.

Mr. COCKRAN. Then there will be no objection to it. They are not allowed to go to-day, and we are told here by these gentlemen that if they become a majority they will be excluded. They are in possession.

Doctor PHILIPSON. They are in possession.

Mr. COCKRAN. Under the mandate. If they take advantage of that they will be shut out.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I am sorry that I have not made clear that my attitude in this matter is that of the entire question of nationalism as against universalism. I do not believe that even if Palestine is thrown open, and I hope to God it will be, I do not believe that is going to solve this so-called Jewish question. Very few can go there, compared to the millions that are persecuted, and a much greater thing would be to seek the adoption of a resolution asking all nations in the world to open their gates to the Jews. That is a much greater thing than one little country, viz, Palestine.

Mr. COCKRAN. I quite agree that would be impossible to obtain. Even this country could not allow unlimited immigration. That is out of the question. You will agree to that.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I have no right to ask questions.

Mr. COCKRAN. You have a perfect right. I am perfectly willing to have a colloquy in the matter when I am questioning.

Doctor PHILIPSON. What would be gained by passing this resolution?

Mr. COCKRAN. All that would be gained, as far as I understand, is to get a declaration of the moral support of America, to allow the Jew to settle in Palestine, buy homes, and enjoy anything in peace and security that he can produce by his hands, as well as security of his person.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Is there any question about it?

Mr. COCKRAN. There have been pogroms here a short time ago. We have them before us now.

Mr. MOORES. Do you not believe that the purpose of this resolution is to influence the action of the League of Nations on April 25?

Mr. COCKRAN. I do not. I do not know anything about the League of Nations, and am not actuated by that in this.

Mr. MOORES. That question comes up under the mandate.

Mr. COCKRAN. I do not care whether it does or not.

Mr. FISH. I do not know whether anyone really knows it is coming up. That is a statement that is made without authority. I do not know whether anybody knows it.

The CHAIRMAN. If Mr. Moores's query is not correct, what is the explanation of the language in the resolution, occurring in resolution No. 52?

Mr. FISH. I have three resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. This is 52. This is in line 4: "Which promises the building up of a new and beneficent life in Palestine, rejoices in this act of historic justice about to be consummated"—

What can that refer to other than the British mandate?

Mr. FISH. It means opening up Palestine to Jews.

The CHAIRMAN. Through the British mandate.

Mr. FISH. Of course, it can not come any other way. The mandate exists to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point.

Mr. COCKRAN. The method is another matter. If there is any other agency than a British mandate, invoke it. They will have to have a majority of the people to take care of themselves. The only object of this resolution is to express the moral sympathy with this effort of the Jews, and it will ameliorate their condition, if only to a slight degree. The doctor suggests in giving them access to this soil, and they are agreed to it and have shown a great capacity, according to the testimony of everybody. They have improved the soil to a great extent wherever they are.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I do not think this resolution states that.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is not necessary. The resolution simply expresses sympathy. That is what it states.

Doctor PHILIPSON. It states a great deal more.

Mr. COCKRAN. If there is anything in that resolution that expresses anything more than sympathetic desire to see the Jew return to his land in Palestine I would like to see it. I would not go further.

Mr. CONNALLY. In connection with Mr. Cockran's question that the object is merely to express sympathy, as an American citizen, what do you think would be the probable attitude of those nations now associated in the League of Nations when Great Britain takes a mandate under it and you make a suggestion that we are not under the League of Nations? Might they not construe that this Nation is assuming, when it has nothing to do with the League of Nations, to try to run it?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I should think so. You had a chance to come in and did not.

Mr. COCKRAN. There is no attempt here to interfere with or suggest the method of running it. This resolution here seems to be an expression of sympathy with the movement.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. You have said that the British and the French were in political difference with reference to Palestine?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. Their policy is a political policy and a very selfish policy.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. The general political policy of those nations with respect to eastern communities is one that is as confused and extraordinary at this time as it can well be.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. It tends to tranquilize conditions in Palestine and declines to tranquilize conditions in Armenia and in parts of Greece; is that a fact?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I do not know whether it tranquilizes Palestine from what we have been hearing.

Mr. MOORE of Virginia. What you deprecate is this Government in any way being connected with the activities that are incident to that sort of a policy. That is what I understand.

Doctor PHILIPSON. May I make a statement which just occurs to me? There has been recently in this country Rabbi Nahoum, who was chief rabbi of Turkey during the war. He was in Cincinnati. I suppose I may make this



statement. It was not confidential. He said that ever since the political Zionists have been active in Palestine there has been unrest and uproar; that as long as the Jews were only a religious community in Palestine there was never any trouble between the Arabs and the Jews and the Christians. The moment that there came this political ambition of the Zionists to dominate affairs there, there has come all this trouble and things have not been tranquil by any means. It is all a political question, and to my mind that is another serious matter as far as we Americans are concerned. I am not looking at it now from the Jewish standpoint. Of course, my sympathies are with the Jews of the world and with the persecuted Jews, but I know that ever since political Zionism has been in the limelight the troubles of the Jews in the world have largely increased, and that the anti-Semitic charge of the alienism of the Jew has been given constant impetus. We are also familiar with the sad fact that millions of people, herded and persecuted in Russia, who were given hope of settling in Palestine, will never get there and will be worse off in their latter state than in their former state, because their hopes will be bitterly disappointed. There is no room for them. Those are all questions aside. To some this is a double question. It is a question, in the first place, from the Jewish standpoint, and many Jews are in favor of this policy. We know that. But I also want to call the attention of the committee to the fact that there are a great number who are not in favor of it. That is the reason I read those resolutions, to show that there is this difference of opinion in regard to the principle and the question of nationality. Because there is this difference of opinion it does not become the Government of the United States to take up the cudgels on either side, as they would not do in any other internal question. Of course, it is a peculiar question. It is different from most other questions.

In the second place, as I have said, I am opposed to it from the American standpoint because I think it is against the traditional American policy, to meddle in matters of Old World politics, of Near East politics, and that is really all that this thing is. The Balfour declaration was made in 1917. It started the whole thing, and has now become an apple of discord, and instead of bringing tranquillity, we see what has really happened when there was a chance for the Arabs and the Jews to get at each other.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you conclude, I gather from your testimony that you are of the opinion that this constant agitation of the Jews to go back to Jerusalem accentuates their alienism, as you put it?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I said that in the minds of other people, it accentuates their alienism, that they are a people apart from the rest of the population.

The CHAIRMAN. Another thought occurs to me and strikes me with a great deal of force, that is to say, the Russian Jew is looked upon as an alien because he is constantly proclaiming Palestine as his country and home; the same with the American Jew.

Mr. COCKRAN. You do not think that is true. Did you ever know a Jew in this country to proclaim that Palestine was his home and that he wanted to go there? I never heard of one.

Doctor PHILIPSON. What was that?

Mr. COCKRAN. Did you hear of a Russian or Galician or a German Jew or any Jew who has been in this country who wanted to go to Jerusalem?

The CHAIRMAN. I did not say that.

Mr. FISH. That is exactly what you did say.

Doctor PHILIPSON. What I said was this. I know you have a very clear head and I may not have made myself clear.

Mr. FISH. It was not your statement at all.

Mr. COOPER. It was an expression you used in answer to the Chairman.

Doctor PHILIPSON. The result of this agitation is to stress the alienism of the Jew in the mind of the non-Jew, not in my mind. I know we are good American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the origin of the expression that the Jew is a man without a country?

Doctor PHILIPSON. In the Middle Ages, as Israel Zangwill put it, all the countries of Europe were step-fatherlands to the Jew.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider Jews men without a country?

Doctor PHILIPSON. No.

Mr. FISH. Does any Jew in America think so? That answers the question.

Mr. COOPER. Let me ask you a question right there. You ask why not take it in other countries. Other countries have organized governments. This is an

attempt to organize a government under the mandate in a country which has now, since the war, no great established government. The Turkish Government having been destroyed, therein is a distinction between the righteous attempt to establish a colony in Palestine and in attempting France, that has had an organized government for centuries, to establish something.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Let me answer your first statement. Of course, I have at heart, first, the interest of the Jews, but I also have a heart for others. I know these Arabs have been living in those countries for centuries. Six hundred thousand Arabs live in that country and only 80,000 Jews. All those things ought to go together, and this Palestine ought to be named a refuge for everybody and not simply the Jews. Now, you spoke about the aliens and I will tell you why I said that. I can think back at least 40 years. I recall very well, and I suppose that most of you do, that there never was such a thing as the American Jews being considered aliens before the arising of this Zionist movement. I do not remember it. We were simply Americans of the Jewish religion, and now this resolution refers to the Jewish nationalism as though the Jews were a different nationality than Americans, etc.

Mr. FISH. Is it not a fact that there are antisemitic societies all over the country?

Doctor PHILIPSON. In hotels; yes.

Mr. FISH. And is it not a fact that this war brought on that feeling all over the country?

Doctor PHILIPSON. It has for the Germans, but not the Jews. I never heard of the Jews being accused of being disloyal as Americans.

Mr. FISH. I never made that statement, but all races that have come in here recently were under suspicion. There were a great many Russian Jews here during the war.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Not since 1914.

Mr. FISH. Throughout the war there were a great many of them here.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Oh, yes, yes.

Mr. COOPER. I have been very much impressed with the force of your presentation, but when you use the word alienism, is that quite an accurate use of the word? Alienism and citizenship are different words. We have no aliens who are citizens, but we have citizens who were aliens, but when they became citizens they are not aliens.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Technically, what I mean is a contrast of Jews and Americans, and that, to me, is the bitter part of it—contrasting a Jew and American. I am a Jew and an American.

Mr. FISH. What would you do to stop the persecution?

Mr. PHILIPSON. What I would do is to have all the people of the world to get together and make those inhuman brutes in the east of Europe feel the displeasure of the world, and if they can not do it in any other way, bring the only means necessary to make them do it.

Mr. COCKRAN. Do you not think that would be a very large enterprise?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Well, it may be.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is not a fair question. You asked him what he would do to stop it, and he tells you.

Doctor PHILIPSON. The question is the attitude of the American Jew toward those eastern European people. You can not get away from the past. That is a result of past conditions and the whole idea of the Jews in Europe as against others is a result of those past conditions in Europe. Thank God! we never had it in America, but it is being brought in by this group philosophy.

Mr. COOPER. I understand that; but let me put this question. To-day Mr. Cockran made perfectly plain that the Jews are persecuted the world over and they are stopped from coming here, and they have to escape to keep from being butchered. They are put in ghettos.

Mr. COCKRAN. No. They do not get there.

Mr. COOPER. They are treated as being animals—as dangerous animals at that.

Doctor PHILIPSON. That is true.

Mr. COOPER. That is a terrible condition for the twentieth century to behold. It is almost unbelievable to a man who sits down and thinks about it. Now, here is an opportunity, and the only opportunity which has been opened for these persecuted people to get to a country the government of which is now in process of formation. The guarantees of civil and religious liberty are to be established; there is to be no discrimination between Arab, Jew, or Christian, but they are to come there, and that is to be opened to them to travel

into if they want to go there and have a chance to work. Every other country stops them, and this great Republic, land of the free and all that sort of thing, refuses to say one word. Now then, it is not getting into the League of Nations, nor it is doing a very dangerous nor a very bad thing if the United States should simply say that what it thinks is a righteous movement it hopes will proceed to consummation. It is not a bad thing for a man to say to another man (if he might be a burglar and the burglar is about to do a good thing), to ask him to go ahead and do it. It does not affect the good man, but this Nation should say to England and the world, "Please proceed. You are about to organize a new country to give a persecuted people a refuge in the world, and a place where each persecuted people can go and be safe." Do not interfere with the rights of the Arabs. Let them stay there, rigidly protect their property, civil and religious rights.

Doctor PHILIPSON. If you can do that and dissociate the Zionist program, God speed it. But as long as you associate it with a nationalist declaration and the Balfour program, it ties it up with the balance of the world.

Mr. MOORE. I want to get as much light as possible, because I want to do as right as it is possible as far as I am concerned. Mr. Cooper seemed to go on the theory that it is either Palestine for the Jews or no other place. Is it not a fact that there are no prohibitions against the Jews in South America or South Africa, both of which are great countries and hold out great promises to people who offer to settle there? And therefore is it the only alternative, as suggested by my friend Mr. Cooper, as he understands it, that they are to go to Palestine or stay where they are at present and suffer persecution?

Mr. SABATH. Pardon me. There is no prohibition in this country against the Jews. There are restrictions.

Mr. COOPER. Well, I will amend my question. Do you know of any law against the Jew in South America or South Africa?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other place where there are restrictions?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I do not now. No one knows conditions in eastern Europe now.

The CHAIRMAN. In England are there any restrictions?

Doctor PHILIPSON. They have alien restrictions. I do not know whether the restrictions hold now. They did a number of years ago, but it is not against the Jews particularly.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sabath, you are on the Immigration Committee. Tell us is it not a fact that the restrictions all over the world affect the Jews and Gentiles alike?

Mr. SABATH. I do not know of any nation that has adopted any legislation directly against the Jew. Therefore I offer the suggestion that it might not go out that we had adopted special legislation in this country against the Jew. We have not. There are some certain restrictions, the same being such as are applied to all the world alike.

I desire to ask the doctor a question. Is it not a fact that nearly the entire immigration to Palestine, on the part of the Jew, is for sentiment?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Absolutely.

Mr. SABATH. More than political?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Not altogether. It is sentiment with a great many people who are there, but with the leaders it is political. I do not want to say some things in this company that I might say.

Mr. FISH. You anticipate the Zionists are going to be the leaders?

Doctor PHILIPSON. No; but they are there now.

Mr. FISH. I know, but the leaders of the Zionist movement are not the politicians?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Well, I will not speak it. I am not a prophet, or a son of a prophet.

Mr. SABATH. I have in my hand a yearbook of the American Jews. They give the number of the Jewish population as 15,744,000. You stated it was between nine and ten million.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I said I thought it was more.

Mr. SABATH. When you revise your remarks you can correct that.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Very well.

Mr. MOORES. You have, as you say, lived a very active life. Can you recall that three times the President of the United States, of his own motion, with-

out action of Congress, has interfered by appealing to the Czar of Russia to stop persecutions against Jews in that country within the last 40 years?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Why should not that have been done as humanity? But the Russians considered it great impertinence.

Mr. MOORES. It has been done.

Mr. FISH. I think it was done by Congress also.

Doctor PHILIPSON. That was simply this: It was because they discriminated against American citizens. It was not because the discrimination was against the Jews, but because it was against the Jew as an American citizen. That was why Congress took that action.

Mr. SABATH. It is a fact also that President Wilson has done everything in his power to force the small nations in adopting their constitutions to insert a proviso guaranteeing the personal and the religious liberties to the minorities.

Doctor PHILIPSON. Exactly. The status quo in eastern Europe is that they set apart Jews as a national group. Yes; not only Jews but other peoples also.

Mr. SABATH. And would not this resolution merely approve of that same policy, guaranteeing that right of religious freedom to the Jew in Palestine? Would that not approve the policy adopted originally by President Wilson?

Doctor PHILIPSON. No; I do not think it would do so. I am so opposed to the whole matter of minority groups anywhere that I would not like to see that in any country. Of course, it has been the policy for centuries and centuries, as is the case in eastern Europe; you can not change things quickly.

Mr. COCKRAN. Do you wish to say that you would not like to see minority rights protected?

Doctor PHILIPSON. What do you mean by that?

Mr. COCKRAN. I do not know what you mean.

Doctor PHILIPSON. I mean separate groups. Of course, minority rights of Jews or Catholics, or any other religious communions who may be minorities in a country, must be protected in their religious rights.

Mr. COCKRAN. I want to ask you some questions about the exclusion of the Jews from nearly all the countries of Europe. Whether they actually have exclusive laws or not, is it not a fact that they are actually expelled from most of those countries, and when they are expelled they are never allowed to reenter them? Is that not true—the actual conditions to-day?

Doctor PHILIPSON. I do not think so.

Mr. COCKRAN. You think a group of Jews expelled from——

Doctor PHILIPSON (interposing). You mean as a group?

Mr. COCKRAN. No. I am speaking of a cargo driven out of Rumania into another country. Do you think they would be let in again?

Dr. PHILIPSON. I do not know.

Mr. COOPER. Do you think it would be any solace to those people driven out that way, threatened with murder, and their friends and relatives murdered, to tell them that they could go to South Africa, or a little farther, when they have not got a cent and nobody will help them? It is a good deal nearer to go to Palestine and no one will help them go there, but they know if they get into these other countries, which are all colonies of France and England and other countries (many of them with imperialistic notions, although they claim to be republics)? Do you think they would be content to go off into those countries, whose friends in Europe persecute them, in preference to a country right near them?

Doctor PHILIPSON. Well, that brings on the discussion of a whole lot of things of that kind which I appreciate, but to me, as I said from the beginning, this is a matter of principle. I hope I have made my position clear.

Mr. FISH. We have another witness. I want to find out in the first place whether the other side has any more witnesses. It will probably not be necessary to put on the man who desires to speak. What we would like to get is a discussion before the committee by the committee as to this question. We to-day have a rather large number. Some are downstairs. Mr. Cockran is leaving to-day or to-morrow. I suppose he would like to be recorded on the matter. I would also like to know whether or not votes by proxy are allowed.

The CHAIRMAN. No; except by unanimous consent of the committee. I would first like to inquire whether there is anybody else here who wishes to be heard here in opposition?

(No one answered.)

The question of voting to-day, I do not think, should be taken up. I would like very much, so far as I am concerned, to have the printed record before me before I determine what to do.

Mr. FISH. I ask now for unanimous consent to vote all proxies. (I think it is the courteous thing to do.) Mr. Cockran has been called away from Congress. He is to leave to-morrow on an important mission, and I think it is in order to ask consent of the committee that all proxies of members who desire to vote on this proposition be allowed.

Mr. MOORE. I have to object. I have no objection to Mr. Cockran, who has been here and has heard this discussion, but I object to people who have not been here and heard it putting in their proxies.

**STATEMENT OF HON. OSCAR J. LARSON, A REPRESENTATIVE  
FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA.**

Mr. LARSON. I came here merely to present to this committee some 20 telegrams that I have received from my district. They are from individuals, congregations, and social organizations—principally Jews—in favor of this resolution.

Mr. CONNALLY. Of course, there was no concert of action between these people?

Mr. LARSON. I do not know. Those come from various communities in my district. The telegrams are as follows:

DULUTH, MINN., April 19, 1922.

HON. O. J. LARSON,

*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

A unanimous resolution adopted by this congregation pledges our unanimous support to you in favor of Hamilton Fish resolution. We firmly believe that nothing but good can come out of the purpose of this resolution. We hope that you will work and vote for this act of historic justice.

BNAI ISRAEL CONGREGATION,  
E. FRIEDMAN, *President.*

Similar telegrams from Tifereth Israel Congregation, A. Horwitz, president; Adath Israel Synagogue, Sam Kaner, president; and the Bnai Zion Congregation, of Chisholm, Minn., by I. Lewis, chairman.

Also, similar telegrams from Sons of Israel Lodge, L. Fox, president; Joseph Vertelney, president Duluth Hebrew Brotherhood; Kodivrim Klub of Duluth; Sam Wain, president Zionist organization, Chisholm district; Zionist district of Duluth, I. B. Aarons, president; Young Peoples' League, Samuel K. Davis, president; Dr. W. L. Medalie; Sam Lewis; Sam Goldenberg; and A. E. Mogelson.

Also, the following resolution:

"Whereas the British mandate for Palestine is soon to be passed upon by the League of Nations; and

"Whereas there is now pending in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress a resolution calling upon our Government to approve the terms of such mandate in so far as it relates to the establishment of a national Jewish homeland; and

"Whereas such establishment of a Jewish homeland is in accord with the traditional principles of our Government: be it hereby

"*Resolved*, That we, the members of the Kodivrim Klub, of Duluth, in meeting assembled, urge our Congressmen to assist in the passage and to support the resolution introduced by Representative Hamilton Fish in the United States Congress; be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to every Member of Congress from Minnesota.

"JACOB GARON,  
"*President of Kodivrim Klub.*

"SARA WALT,  
"*Secretary of Kodivrim Klub.*

"DULUTH, MINN., April 6, 1922."

TELEGRAMS FILED BY HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

NEW YORK, April 28, 1922.

Congressman HAMILTON FISH, Jr.,

*2319 Ashmead Place, Washington:*

The United Jewish Legionnaires and veterans of Greater New York, an organization representing more than 10,000 ex-soldiers, who fought under American

colors and with General Allenby for liberation of Palestine from Turks, at meeting on Thursday, April 27, unanimously adopted resolution indorsing action of Congressman Hamilton Fish and Senator Lodge in asking our Government to give its seal of approval to the re-creation of Palestine as the Jewish national homeland. As citizens of this great Republic and as Jews who have fought in the Great War, one of whose chief purposes was the liberation of the smaller nationalities, we respectfully urge you to aid in the passage of this resolution, which gives the moral support of the United States Government and people to the legitimate aims and aspirations of the Jewish people for the reestablishment in Palestine of the Jewish national homeland. The sentiment of millions of Jews in the United States and throughout the world are behind the Zionist movement. The Government of the United States will do a great service to humanity in lifting the Jewish people out of the misery and chaos in which it finds itself. We fought for it and we bled for it. We are confident the United States, which has always stood for the right of the oppressed, will answer our call.

DR. LEON SLONIMSKY, *President.*  
L. LEVINSON, *Secretary.*

BUFFALO, April 20, 1922.

Representative HAMILTON FISH,  
*Washington, D. C.:*

We, the undersigned, representing the following organizations in the city of Buffalo: Zionist district of Buffalo; Independent Order of Brith Abraham; Lake Erie Lodge, I. O. B. S.; Electricity Lodge, O. K. O. J.; Jewish National Workers' Alliance; J. N. W. A., Women's Branch; Manhattan Social and Benevolent Society; Queen City Social and Benevolent Society; East Buffalo Social Club; Buffalo Hebrew Social Club; Jewish Mothers' Club; Young Men's Club, F. A. S.; Zion Helpers' Club; Mizrahi Poale Zion; Ladies' Mizrahi Junior; Hadasseh Ladies' Junior; Congregation Beth Jacob; Congregation Brith Sholom; Congregation Shavath Achim; Congregation Brith Israel; Congregation Anshe Libavitz; Congregation Anshe Sokolivke; Congregation Anshe Emes; J. Y. M. A.; Y. W. H. A.; Arya Association; Delma Association; Orion Association; Titan Association; Palestine Development League; Temple Beth el Hadasseh of Buffalo—comprising the majority of the Jewish community—at a meeting assembled, respectfully petition that you give your fullest support to the resolution of Hon. Senator Henry C. Lodge, of Massachusetts, recognizing the Balfour declaration for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, the hope of the Jewish people for centuries.

DR. S. KAVINOKY, *Chairman.*  
L. H. MILLER, *Vice Chairman.*  
J. A. SEPOWITCH, *Secretary.*  
DR. A. W. SWADOS, *Secretary.*

ROXBURY, MASS., April 24, 1922.

Congressman HAMILTON FISH,  
*Washington, D. C.:*

The Rabbinical Assembly of the Jewish Theological Seminary sets itself on record as heartily supporting resolution favoring a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine; its 150 members ministering to Jewish congregations over the country are unanimous in the conviction that in the reestablishment of Palestine as home for the Jews, humanity will reap an unforeseen spiritual harvest; will pay a debt that it justly owes the scattered people, as well through its immediate effect save hundreds of thousands of Jewish families in eastern Europe from the dangers that beset them. As Americans we should feel proud to know that our country was in a degree instrumental in offering an asylum to an oppressed nation.

LOUIS EPSTEIN, *Boston, Mass., President.*  
MAX DROB, *New York, Vice President.*  
ABRAHAM NOWAK, *Hartford, Conn., Recording Secretary.*  
HYMAN, SOLOMON, *Lawrence, Mass., Corresponding Secretary.*  
ISRAEL GOLDFARB, *Brooklyn, N. Y., Treasurer.*

Telegrams in approval of the resolution were also filed by Mr. Fish from congregations, organizations of various sorts, and from individuals, as follows:

Congregation Beth Jacob, of Buffalo; New Peoples Synagogue, 206 East Broadway, New York; Palestine Foundation Fund Committee, of Washington Heights, by Alexander Bernardik, chairman; Sons of the Land of Israel, by Joseph Gabriel, secretary; Jewish Extension Center, M. Soltes, director, 31 West One hundred and tenth street; Bedford section of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, by Samuel Rottenberg; Philip Bernstein Sick Benevolent Association, by Louis Weiss; Max Ornstein and David Klein; Jarrchower Young Men's Benevolent Society, by William Tabor, president, and Sam Tannenbaum, secretary; David Wolfsohn Club; First Zionist district, 204 East Broadway, New York; New York Zionist District, by Morris Margulies, chairman, 31 East Thirty-second Street; Brooklyn Zionist district, by Louis Germain, chairman, 550 Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn; Zionist district No. 36, Arverne, Long Island, by Aaron Rosenbaum, president, and L. E. Shapiro, secretary; and from George Gordon Battle, William Hoyt Worrell, and Hon. William Sulzer.

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TELEGRAMS FILED BY HON. CHARLES G. BOND.

Commendatory telegrams were filed by Mr. Bond from the following-named organizations and individuals:

The Jewish Center of East Flatbush, by Max Brody, president; H. Morgenstern, 1341 Fifty-fifth Street; Max Perlman, 1676 Fifty-second; Heinrich Abromowitz, Yetta Abromowitz, 2925 West Twenty-eighth Street; and Louis Abromowitz, Harry Abromowitz, Eva Abromowitz, and Mollie Abromowitz, 2216 Mermaid Avenue, Coney Island. Also a letter of approval from Judge Alexander H. Geismar, ex-president Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities; Rabbi Nachman H. Eb'ni, representing congregations Sons of Israel, of Bensonhurst, and Shaarei Tfiloh, of Bath Beach; Abraham Mazer, representing the Keren Hayesod Committee of Bath Beach, Mapleton district; A. Becker, representing the Zionist organization of district No. 19, comprising Bath Beach, Bensonhurst, Mapleton, and Coney Island; and Samuel Kramer, vice president Y. M. H. A. of Bath Beach.

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STATEMENT BY HON. A. J. SABATH.

(The Foreign Affairs Committee, at the time this hearing was sent to the printer, voted to include the following resolution adopted by the American Jewish Congress in session in Philadelphia, May 22, 1922.)

"In view of the fact that a resolution has been introduced in the House of Representatives by the Hon. Hamilton J. Fish, jr., of New York, favoring the establishment in Palestine of the Jewish homeland in view of the fact that certain individual Jews speaking in their own names opposed the passage of said resolution at a hearing of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the American Jewish Congress in session assembled in Philadelphia strongly urges the speedy passage of the Fish resolution. We declare that the views of the opponents of Jewish aspirations are in opposition to the views of the large majority of the Jews of America, are in opposition to Jewish tradition, the ideals of the Jewish religion, and to the historic hopes and longings of the Jews the world over.

A. J. SABATH.

Mr. FISH. I would like to ask permission of the committee to listen to Mr. Lipsky.

STATEMENT OF MR. LOUIS LIPSKY—Resumed.

Mr. LIPSKY. Mr. Chairman, the committee has heard a great deal of evidence and is now probably not in a state of mind to absorb all the facts I may produce in contradiction of what has been said by opposing witnesses. In view of statements that have been presented here, it is essential that erroneous impressions should be removed as to matters of fact as to conditions that have been revealed with regard to the Arabs, and with regard to the mandate, and with regard to the Balfour declaration. I therefore would have to ask the indulgence of the committee for a little more time than 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LIPSKY. First of all, I desire again to call to your attention the fact that the Jews of America in an American Jewish congress adopted resolutions in favor of the Balfour declaration; that at this congress there were representatives, as I have stated before, representing 360,000 Jews voting individually; that in addition thereto there were represented national Jewish organizations, including a number of prominent reformed Jewish organizations. The American Jewish Committee, represented by Mr. Louis Marshall, is an organization composed to a large extent of representatives of reformed Jews. Now, inasmuch as the principle of self-determination has been invoked, as far as what the Jewish people desire and what they think to be to their best interest, that decision of the American Jewish Congress represents the self-determination of the Jews of America.

Mr. CONNALLY. Do you mean here in America?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Determined to do what?

Mr. LIPSKY. To save their brethren, who are in distress; to preserve the future of the Jewish people by establishing a homeland in Palestine. This resolution, as adopted in the United States by Jews, has the approval of the vast majority of the Jews in Poland, where they are suffering great disabilities, where they are suffering persecution, and where they feel that the future of their race requires that a haven of refuge or a homeland, or a national home—whatever words may be used—must be established for them in their ancestral land for that purpose. I say, so far as the Jewish people are concerned, they take that stand. The introduction into the committee's record of theological differences of opinion (because they are practically theological differences—they are not differences as to problem of life, they are differences of ideas with regard to religious dogma), so far as the Jewish position is concerned, is not determined by theological dogma, but by the needs of life. We refuse to hold up dogmas against the urgency of life that compel us to action. We refuse to indulge in theories or abstract philosophy when life requires action. When we see thousands of Jews lingering in European ports and know their desire to return to Palestine, we cannot turn back to discussion of theology or dogma. When you asked Doctor Philipson what he would do under the circumstances, he appealed to a dogma or a construction of Jewish history, as if that were the answer. He appeals to pious wishes, as if that were the answer.

The Zionists have organized the forces of our people to deal with problems of Jewish life, to plan, to act. Just as Poles organized their governmental administration, and as the Irish were organized to obtain their freedom, we have been organizing for the last 30 years, because we believed that the establishment of a haven of refuge is an urgent need of Jewish life. That has nothing to do with theological dogmas. We are dealing with a practical situation; whatever is being done to organize the Jewish people to deal with this situation, the raising of funds, the establishment of colonies, the direction of immigration, projects for the development of the country to absorb the Jews as they come to the land—all this arises naturally out of our belief that the creation of a national home for the Jew in Palestine is essential for the well-being and future of the Jewish people. It would be folly to expect that in such an enterprise there would not be differences of opinion, there would not be different principles involved, there would not be certain embarrassments created for certain groups of individuals. There have been embarrassments created in the United States for those Irish who resented the agitation here for a Irish free state, the propaganda for free Ireland carried on in the United States. At the same time those who felt that this agitation here was essential and indispensable for Ireland's existence could not discontinue their work. We deal with the needs of Jewish life, not with intellectual ideals.

Professor Reed introduced many statements, quotations, citations from letters, etc. He has done this skillfully.

It is curious that many of the facts presented by him have been commented upon, characterized, described, but with no desire to present the whole truth or to present a nonpartisan view of the statements presented. Professor Reed called my attention as a witness sitting here, but not permitted to speak, to a certain letter to Doctor Weizmann in which he was asked whether he would be willing to accept a court of inquiry. Professor Reed said that Doctor Weizmann was willing to accept the court of inquiry but would not comply with other conditions.



I want to contradict Professor Reed's statement on this point. An article appeared in the London Times, asking for the appointment of a court of inquiry. Doctor Weizmann replied in the following terms:

"Sir: In a leading article which appears in the Times of to-day you indorse Lord Northcliffe's suggestion that the situation in Palestine should be exhaustively reviewed by a competent and impartial authority.

"I have no desire to invade your columns with a lengthy statement of the Zionist case, which has been fully set forth in a pamphlet just published by the Zionist organization, under the title, 'The Truth About Palestine.

"I will confine myself to saying that for my own part—and I feel sure that I speak for the overwhelming majority of my fellow Zionists—I should cordially welcome such an inquiry as is suggested, and would ask for nothing better than the fullest possible publicity."

The suggestion as to what sort of inquiry should be made was contained in the last paragraph to which he refers, which is as follows:

"Lord Northcliffe pays a pleasant tribute to the impartiality of the high commissioner; but the situation bristles with so many difficulties and misunderstandings that it is high time, in the interests of the Zionists, of the Palestinian Arabs, and of the British nation, which is at present responsible for the conduct of Palestinian affairs, that a complete and public investigation of the growing complaints and disturbances should be made by a competent and impartial authority."

Doctor Weizmann made this statement in the London Times. The Zionist press immediately echoed that statement and intimated that the Zionist organization courted the appointment of an investigation commission. Professor Reed intimated that there were conditions not acceptable by Doctor Weizmann. Where were these conditions set forth, by whom made?

The CHAIRMAN. Professor Reed indicated that there were certain recommendations proposed by the British mandate that should be postponed until this matter could be investigated.

Mr. LIPSKY. To whom was it addressed?

The CHAIRMAN. To the press; and Doctor Reed raised the point that the reply of Doctor Weizmann agreed to the investigation, but did not agree to the proposal of the mandate until after the investigation; is that correct?

Mr. LIPSKY. I am not acquainted with that incident. I am speaking of the fact itself, as to whether the Zionists wanted a court of inquiry appointed.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter that Doctor Reed read specifically laid that down.

Mr. LIPSKY. Professor Reed wanted to create the impression that the Zionists were not eager that a special inquiry should be set up. Whether it was this letter or that letter, whether it was here or there, the fact is that Doctor Weizmann, for the Zionist organization, had agreed to it.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the letter I refer to. It was the letter written by the Arab statesman. In it the Arab made two propositions: First, for an investigation, and then a postponement of the ratifications until after an investigation. Doctor Reed said that Doctor Weizmann agreed to the investigation, but he did not agree to the postponement—

Mr. COOPER (interposing). Suppose I were to agree to investigate the question or subject, and say, as Doctor Weizmann did in his letter, "a thorough and complete investigation"? Certainly I would not vote on anything which related to the investigation until my own investigation was complete. That would follow as a natural thing.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think so.

Mr. COOPER. It inevitably would. What is the object of the investigation?

Mr. LIPSKY. This is directed to Doctor Weizmann with regard to an inquiry. It is in answer to a letter which appeared in the London Times with reference to this inquiry.

Professor Reed also sought to convey the impression that Sir Stuart Samuel had, for some cause or other, disassociated himself from the Zionist cause. The fact is that Sir Stuart Samuel had an interview, which appeared in the London Mail on February 19, in which he was quoted as questioning the way the Zionist funds were being administered and in which he said its economic policies were unsound. He was also quoted as disassociating himself from the Jewish nationalists and approving of the proposal in the Northcliffe papers that an impartial commission be sent to Palestine to study conditions. When questioned by the Board of Jewish Deputies of London, on February 19, he denied the accuracy of the interview, saying he had been misrepresented by the Mail. The impression that was attempted to be made here was that Sir Stuart Samuel

himself, a representative of orthodox Jews in England, was not in favor of the Jewish homeland.

Mr. MOORES. Does the Mail still belong to Lord Northcliffe?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. Would it be well for us to take a recess, in view of the fact that a majority of the members who want to hear this find themselves a little hungry and the chances are the gentleman himself would like to get something to eat?

(Thereupon, at 1.30 p. m., the committee recessed to meet at 2.30 o'clock, p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reconvened at the expiration of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order and Mr. Lipsky will resume his statement.

STATEMENT OF MR. LIPSKY—Resumed.

Mr. LIPSKY. Mention was made by Mr. Reed of Jacob de Haan. It was intimated that Jacob de Haan had entered certain protests against the Jewish national home. This is not correct. Jacob de Haan represents in Palestine a small group of extremely orthodox Jews, and their objection is not to the Jewish national home, but to the composition of the Jewish agency. They claim that the Jewish agency should not be given over to the Zionist organization, but should be shared with an organization known as the Agudath Israel, which is an organization of orthodox Jews. We have a report from Palestine sent by a news agency which reads as follows [reading]:

"The Palestine mandate, De Haan is understood to have proposed to Lord Northcliffe, should protect the rights of the non-Zionist Jews in the same way as the rights of the non-Jews are safeguarded."

De Haan is reported to have had an interview with Lord Northcliffe, in which he made certain statements. He makes a distinction between Zionist Jews and Jews in general. [Reading:]

"He is also believed to have told the publisher that the Agudath Israel claimed for itself the right to be recognized as a Jewish agency for Palestine precisely in the same fashion as the Zionist organization is recognized"—

In the Palestine mandate.

Reference was made by Mr. Reed to the testimony given before the Haycraft Commission by Doctor Eder. Professor Reed, however, did not read into the record the significant portions of Doctor Eder's remarks. I would like to have in the record other things which have appeared in the same newspaper from which Professor Reed secured his quotation. He merely read before the committee one paragraph. He read the paragraph which related to the predominance of the Jews. This paragraph was referred to by the chairman of the committee. The complete quoted statement is as follows. It is important as bearing upon the Zionist view of the relations of the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine:

Mr. Luke asked:

"There is a certain amount of Zionist literature which is read by the Arabs. You have given us a very reasonable definition of the Balfour declaration, but that is not the definition always given in responsible Zionist papers.

"Doctor EDER. This country has to be built up by the Jew and the Arab. Jews do not come here for domination. I claim predominance. My own view is this: In the remote future there could be a federal state of the Near East. Syria, Mesopotamia, Hedjaz, Palestine, Transjordanian could all be independent. Palestine would be predominantly Jewish.

"The CHAIRMAN. The national home does express dominancy?

"Doctor EDER. Yes.

"The CHAIRMAN. Now, if you can get it?

"Doctor EDER. We can not get it at present. It seems that we should be the predominant partner.

"Mr. ELIAS EFF. Therefore you consider the Arabs in Palestine as foreigners and not entitled to a national home?

"Doctor EDER. I do not say that they are foreigners. Every respect would be paid to their civil and religious rights in this country. We do not think there is room for an Arab national home in Palestine; their national home is in Syria, Transjordanian, Mesopotamia, and Hedjaz.

"Mr. ELIAS EFF. It is very strange for a man sitting in his home to have an intruder come in and say there is no room for you here. You must get out.

"Doctor EDER. It does not mean you should go out.

"Mr. ELIAS EFF. When you said there was no room for an Arab national home in Palestine you did not mean that there was no room for the Arab?

"Doctor EDER. There is no room for a Jewish and an Arab national home. We can have them both united in one home."

Speaking of the relations between the Arab and the Jews, Doctor Eder said—and I call special attention to these remarks:

"As to our relations with our Arab neighbors, when the Zionist commission came to Palestine in 1918 Doctor Weizmann gave an address to the Arab notables and explained to them that he wished to cooperate with them in the building up of Palestine; that the Balfour declaration implicitly stated that the civil and religious rights of the Arabs would be respected, and that the Jews could not conceive the possibility of any other policy. The Jews, who have so long been subject to persecution in other lands, could never possibly become the persecutors of another people. It was out of the question for the British Government ever to allow such a thing. We have endeavored to carry out that policy, and we have used the good offices of the Palestine-born Jews to bring about an understanding between the Arabs and ourselves. Doctor Weizmann visited Emir Feisel"—

I want to call your attention to this, gentlemen, especially because his name has not been mentioned to this committee. He was during the first years of the war called Prince Feisel; subsequently he is designated as Emir Feisel. He is the son of the King of the Hedjaz, King Hussein, whose letter was read into the record by Professor Reed.

"Doctor Weizmann visited Emir Feisel in June, 1919, at Maan, and cordial relations were established."

Mr. CONNALLY. Just where from Palestine is Hedjaz?

Mr. LIPSKY. South by southeast. It is contiguous to Palestine, either south or a little to the south. Hedjaz is that territory which contains the city of Mecca and Medina.

Mr. SMITH. Is it an independent government?

Mr. LIPSKY. It is an independent government under Arabic rule. The King is Hussein, the father of Prince Feisel.

"We think that all the promises of the Allies to the Arabs have been faithfully carried out."

You remember that Professor Reed mentioned that none of the promises that had been made to Hussein, the father of Prince Feisel, had ever been carried out; and that this was the promise made by the Allies or made by the British Government through a representative in Egypt, and this promise, which had been in writing, has never been carried out.

"We think that all of the promises of the Allies to the Arabs have been faithfully carried out. An Arab King is in Mesopotamia"—

One of the family of Hussein was established as the King of Mesopotamia, and Arabic dominance in Mesopotamia is assured by the British Government—

"And the Emir Abdulla is in Transjordan. The Hedjaz is a free country under King Hussein. We ask the Arabs to recognize our claims in Palestine as granted by the Balfour declaration and confirmed at San Remo by the treaty of Sevres. There is room for a much larger population in Palestine, which has a much smaller population per square mile than Syria."

I am asking that this go into the record in order to indicate the method employed by Professor Reed in perverting the facts. He does not seem interested in the truth, but only in his side of the case. He makes a partial statement, taking a sentence out of an interview or out of a stenographic report of an official proceeding and tries to concentrate attention upon that sentence, excluding everything else from consideration.

Professor Reed made out what seemed to be a case with regard to the mandate and tried to make it appear as if the national home for the Jewish people in Palestine was involved in a fixed piece of legislation with regard to how Palestine is to be governed.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt you? Perhaps you can inform me about this matter, because I am very much in the dark about it. The first official statement was the letter of October, 1915, from the British high commissioner to the Arabs. The next official act was the Balfour declaration of October, 1917?

Mr. LIPSKY. I beg your pardon. It all depends on what you consider an official act. After this letter was sent, there were negotiations carried on.

The CHAIRMAN. With whom?

Mr. LIPSKY. Between the representatives of King Hussein, Prince Feisel, the British Government, and the Zionist organization.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think they would be material in this matter.

Mr. LIPSKY. Why not?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of the Balfour declaration?

Mr. LIPSKY. 1917.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is October, 1917. Then, followed the meeting of the council of the League of Nations at San Remo; that was sometime last year.

Mr. LIPSKY. Mr. Chairman, in order to get the record straight you would have to take notice of a number of acts of the British Government with regard to the establishment of Arab dominance in Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. Personally, I do not regard that as material. If you want to put that in, however, we would have no objection.

Mr. LIPSKY. No; I am not interested in that myself at all at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The council of the League of Nations met in San Remo in 1920. This is the point I want to have cleared up. That council asked England to accept the mandate over Palestine, did it not, or do you know?

Mr. LIPSKY. No. The San Remo conference put together a treaty which it proposed to submit to the representatives of the Turkish Government. In that treaty certain disposition was proposed to be made of the territories formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire.

The CHAIRMAN. And the disposition of Palestine?

Mr. LIPSKY. And Syria. Inasmuch as you are entering into a question of obligation arising out of a letter sent by the British Government to a representative of the Arabs—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). It is only as a matter of history, I am putting that in there.

Mr. LIPSKY. This also is a matter of history.

Mr. COOPER. It ought all to be complete.

Mr. LIPSKY. If there is a claim made here of promises made to the Arabs, which have not been performed, it is not sufficient merely to state action with regard to promises made to the Jewish people, and infer that the promise made to the Jewish people precluded the possibility that other promises made to the Arabs had not been kept.

The CHAIRMAN. You are permitted to put them into the record. What I want to get is the status of the situation in so far as the League of Nations is concerned. England is apparently operating under a mandate; and, so far, I have been unable to find out whether or not that mandate has been ratified and approved. You talked about a meeting on May 10 to ratify something. That is the situation I want to get cleared up.

Mr. LIPSKY. As far as the mandate is concerned, there are two facts necessary to be stated: First, there was the decision of the allied conference at San Remo—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You say the "allied conference." Was not that the council of the League of Nations?

Mr. LIPSKY. No; it was the allied conference. The allied conference decided with regard to the disposition of certain territories formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire. It said that Palestine should be taken over under a mandate by the British Government; that Syria should be taken over by the French under a mandate, and that the terms of the mandates shall be decided by the League of Nations, which would establish equity and justice in the relations of the mandatory power to the inhabitants of the land.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not the mandate of Great Britain itself say how Palestine is to be governed?

Mr. LIPSKY. If you remember, Professor Reed entered into very intimate and detailed discussion of the terms of the mandate, showing how this was right and that was wrong; how they were going to go about it; that the Balfour declaration should not set up the legislation that is necessary for carrying on the government of Palestine or of Syria.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about the Balfour declaration; I am talking about this mandate, which, as I read it, is the fundamental law for the government of Palestine by Great Britain. What further has the conference of the allied powers or the Council of the League of Nations to do in the matter? That is what I am driving at, merely for the record.

Mr. LIPSKY. It is the duty of the British Government, to which has been assigned the mandate for Palestine, to draw up, in consultation with the peoples or the nationalities in Palestine, or their representatives, the form of the government of Palestine and submit that to the League of Nations, and if, in the opinion of the League of Nations that mandate satisfies their sense of justice, etc., the League of Nations will approve of it.

There is a provision made with regard to the rights of the nationalities in the mandated territory to appeal to the League of Nations in case of injustice or wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, then, by what authority is England acting in Palestine at the present time?

Mr. LIPSKY. England is in Palestine at present by right of conquest. It was the English who cleared Palestine of the Turkish army; it was England that took possession of Palestine and occupied it with military force. When the allied governments came to an understanding at San Remo, then England believed it to be necessary to introduce a civil administration, and it then appointed Sir Herbert Samuel high commissioner of Palestine. Sir Herbert Samuel has been governing Palestine, with the advice of his advisory council, which represents Moslems, Christians, and Jews.

Mr. LIPSKY. A provisional form of government—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). England at the present time is there by right of conquest, with a provisional form of government in effect?

Mr. LIPSKY. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. And everything awaits the action of the Council of the League of Nations at San Remo in May?

Mr. LIPSKY. Exactly. I want to present a statement made by Mr. Winston Churchill, secretary of state for the colonies, to the Arab delegation, which shows clearly that in his opinion as well as in the opinion of the British Government the form of the mandate and all things in the mandate, except the basic principle of the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, are subject to revision according to the adjustments that may be made necessary under the circumstances.

"Mr. Winston Churchill, secretary of state for the colonies, has issued a reply to the Arab delegation now in London," quoting from the New Palestine of March 10, 1922, "stating that the future of Palestine can not be discussed on any basis other than the Balfour declaration, since there can be no question of the British Government repudiating its obligations toward the Jewish people.

"The covenant of the League of Nations, in interpreting the treaty of Sevres, refers to Syria and Iraq as previously recognized independent States. No such reference is made to Palestine, however, because Great Britain, as the mandatory, is responsible for effecting the Government declaration of November 2, 1917, known as the Balfour declaration, adopted by the allied powers, providing for the establishment of the Jewish national home.

"The Government, said Mr. Churchill, is bound to the pledge antecedent to the Balfour declaration, and can not allow a constitutional position to develop which would render impracticable the carrying out of the solemn undertaking of Great Britain and the Allies with regard to the Jewish position in Palestine.

"The Jewish national home will not prejudice the rights of the Arabs. While in the mandate the Zionist organization is recognized as the public body to advise and cooperate with the administration of the established national home, the Government is ready, if necessary, to insert in the draft a provision that no action shall be taken in Palestine upon the advice of the Zionists or otherwise, except through channels prescribed in the final constitution."

In other words, Churchill did not regard the former mandate which was presented by Professor Reed as settled as being in any sense of the word final.

The CHAIRMAN. That tends to confirm your statement.

Mr. LIPSKY. I also want to read another statement made by him as to the question of immigration into Palestine. Mr. Churchill said [reading]:

"As to the question of immigration into Palestine, Mr. Churchill says he favors that the policy of immigration be reserved by the high commissioner after reference to the Government. Immigration is of such vital importance to all sections that there are strong grounds for dealing specially with it and for setting up a special machinery representing the interests of the Palestine population without the infusion of the official element. One method would be the formation of an immigration board representative of all classes of Palestine which would advise the high commissioner on questions of immigration.

The opinion of the Zionist organization should be laid before the high commissioner by a representative of the Zionist organization in Palestine, irreconcilable differences being referred to the general Government for decision.

"Mr. Churchill expressed the hope that his suggestions will bring about a solution of the problems. He is prepared, he said, to consider the desirability of modifying the proposition regarding the nominated members of the legislative council so that the elected representatives would be able to carry a measure against the Government."

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the letter in which he emphasized the word "the"?

Mr. LIPSKY. No; that is another statement.

As a matter of fact, conditions in Palestine—the relations of the British Government to Palestine, the relations of the Palestine Government to the Arabs and the Jews—have been in constant flux ever since the arrival of the high commissioner, and there have been various attempts made on the part of the Zionists, on the part of the Arabs, and on the part of the high commissioner to arrive at a just rule with regard to the relationships that are to be established there. I think Rabbi Lazaron said this morning there are differences of opinion. Some of the Arabs think that Sir Herbert Samuel is not favoring them; some of the Jews think that he is not favoring them. He is trying to do the best he can under the circumstances that are created by this unusual situation in Palestine.

Sir Herbert Samuel formulated a constitution for Palestine. It would be just as sensible to discuss here the justice or the injustice of certain provisions of this constitution as it would be to discuss certain provisions in the mandate. Those are matters that are in flux. In order to ascertain what will work in Palestine, it is the business of the high commissioner to consult with Arabs and Jews and the foreign office and to adjust differences.

Exactly the same procedure was adopted with regard to the Palestine mandate. The Palestine mandate was formulated in the foreign office, submitted to the Zionist organization, submitted to the representatives of the Palestine Government to see what they had to say. The Palestine Government and the Zionist organization consulted with the advisory council, on which were representatives of the Arabs, the Christians, and of Jews. It goes back and forth. One suggests this, another suggests that; the matter is in flux.

Basic to the whole situation, however, is the Balfour declaration, and it is on that declaration—upon the right of the Jewish people to establish a national home in Palestine and the protection of that national home—it is for that that we are contending here and elsewhere. The whole Jewish people are contending for the right to establish there a center of Jewish life—whether Doctor Philipson wants to call it a center or community, it makes no difference with regard to what it is to be. There will be Jews there living their own life in their own way, under conditions that they themselves will create. That is the purpose of the Balfour declaration, and that is what we are asking for.

As I say, the Palestine constitution submitted by Sir Herbert Samuel makes certain suggestions as to how the administration should be conducted. He wants to be assured that nothing is regarded as settled until it is finally settled right.

There has been introduced into the record the testimony of many people with regard to what Palestine is, and some things have been put into the record that are purely hearsay, flying observations made by visitors or personal impressions. I have here a statement of the high commissioner, an official report dated July 30, 1921, and I want to put that in.

The CHAIRMAN. The British high commissioner?

Mr. LIPSKY. The British high commissioner for Palestine.

Mr. COOPER. I would like to have him read that. I would like to hear it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to take the time to read it?

Mr. LIPSKY. It will not take long [reading]:

"It is obvious to every passing traveler, and well known to every European resident, that the country was before the war, and is now, underdeveloped and underpopulated. The methods of agriculture are, for the most part, primitive; the area of land now cultivated could yield a far greater product. There are in addition large cultivable areas that are left untilled. The summits and slopes of the hills are admirably suited to the growth of trees, but there are no forests. Miles of sand dunes that could be redeemed are untouched, a danger, by their encroachment, to the neighboring tillage. The Jordan and the Yarmuk offer an abundance of water power, but it is unused. Some industries,

fishing and the culture and manufacture of tobacco are examples, have been killed by Turkish laws; none have been encouraged; the markets of Palestine and of the neighboring countries are supplied almost wholly from Europe. The sea-borne commerce, such as it is, is loaded and discharged in the open roadsteads of Jaffa and Haifa—there are no harbors. The religious and historic associations offer most powerful attractions to the whole of the western, and to a large part of the eastern world, have hitherto brought to Palestine but a fraction of the pilgrims and travelers who, under better conditions, would flock to her sacred shrines and famous sites.

"The country is underpopulated because of this lack of development. There are now in the whole of Palestine hardly 700,000 people"—

You remember an estimate was made here that there were over 900,000, and on the basis of that the relative proportion of Jews was based 10 to 1. The population is 700,000, according to this official report, 6 to 1.

"There are now in all Palestine hardly 700,000 people, a population much less than that of the Province of Galilee alone in the time of Christ. Of these 235,000 live in the larger towns, 465,000 in the smaller towns and villages. Four-fifths of the whole population are Moslems. A small proportion of these are Bedouin Arabs; the remainder, although they speak Arabic and are termed Arabs, are largely of mixed race. Some 77,000 of the population are Christians, in large majority belonging to the orthodox church, and speaking Arabic. The minority are members of the Latin or of the Uniate Greek Catholic Church, or—a small number—are Protestants.

"The Jewish element of the population numbers 76,000. Almost all have entered Palestine during the last 40 years. Prior to 1850 there were in the country only a handful of Jews. In the following 30 years a few hundreds came to Palestine. Most of them were animated by religious motives; they came to pray and to die in the Holy Land, and to be buried in its soil. After the persecutions in Russia 40 years ago, the movement of the Jews to Palestine assumed larger proportions. Jewish agricultural colonies were founded. They developed the culture of oranges, and gave importance to the Jaffa orange trade. They cultivated the vine, and manufactured and exported wine. They drained swamps. They planted eucalyptus trees. They practiced, with modern methods, all the processes of agriculture. There are at the present time 64 of these settlements, large and small, with a population of some 15,000. Every traveler in Palestine who visits them is impressed by the contrast between these pleasant villages, with the beautiful stretches of prosperous cultivation about them, and the primitive conditions of life and work by which they are surrounded.

"The success of the agricultural colonies attracted the eager interest of the masses of the Jewish people scattered throughout the world. In many countries they were living under the pressure of laws or customs which cramped their capacities and thwarted their energies; they saw in Palestine the prospect of a home in which they might live at ease. Profoundly discontented, as numbers of them were, with a life of petty trade in crowded cities, they listened with ready ears to the call of a healthier and finer life as producers on the land. Some among them, agriculturists already, saw in Palestine the prospect of a soil not less fertile and an environment far more free than those to which they were accustomed. Everywhere great numbers of Jews, whose religion causes them to live, spiritually, largely in the past, began to take an active interest in those passages in their ritual that dwelt, with constant emphasis, upon the connection of their race with Palestine; passages which they had hitherto read day by day and week by week with the lax attention that is given to a contingency that is possible but remote."

Mr. SMITH. Who wrote that?

Mr. LIPSKY. That was written by the high commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel.

Mr. SMITH. What is his nationality?

Mr. LIPSKY. He is an Englishman and a Jew.

Mr. COOPER. He was the man who was sent there by the British Government?

Mr. LIPSKY. He was the man who was sent there by the British to govern Palestine.

There have been figures introduced here in regard to the density of the population of Palestine. I have here figures based upon accurate, scientific observation; they have been compiled by statisticians who are known to be expert in that line of work. Palestine, according to their report, which was printed in the Jewish Chronicle, March 10, 1922, from which I read the following:

"Palestine laterally between the sea and the desert, longitudinally between the Hermon Mountains and the Akabah Gulf, comprises an area of 23,000 square miles, and has an inhabitant population of some 950,000, including 59,000 wandering Bedouins. This figures out to about 50 per square mile of population, whereas in the Lebanon Province, adjoining, where the land is much less cultivated because much more hilly, the population is 170 to the square mile.

"Italy, which has a climate like Palestine, supports 300 to the square mile. In England the population is over 600 in average per square mile. Sicily, which is very comparable to Palestine in size, has a population of 3,500,000; while Holland, on an area of 14,000 square miles, supports a population of 6,000,000. Palestine has a cultivated area of some 12,000 square miles, which could be increased by irrigation, but even of this less than one-third is at present under cultivation, while the other two-thirds remain unutilized."

I must refer again to the remarks made by Professor Reed with regard to the attitude of the Zionists and of the Jewish people in general toward the Arabs, and I want to put into the record an address delivered by Mr. Nahum Sokolow, the chairman of the World Zionist executive committee at the World Zionist Congress, where he was elected the presiding officer of the congress in the summer of last year.

(The address referred to and submitted by Mr. Lipsky is here printed in full, as follows:)

[Reprint of speech of Nahum Sokolow, chairman executive committee, World Zionist Organization, made September 1, 1921, at opening World Zionist Congress, Carlsbad, Czechoslovakia, and reprinted in the London Jewish Chronicle September 2, 1921.]

#### "OUR RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB NATION.

"These relations do not rest on traditions and moral considerations only. The sympathies of nations are based finally and chiefly upon their interests. When the interests of the Arabs and the Jews are in agreement in the field of practical politics, sympathy between them will not be lacking. We have the greatest interest in living in cordial understanding with the Arabs, and the closer these relations can be drawn the more welcome will it be to us. The interests of the Arabian people point in the direction of cultivating a friendly understanding with the Jewish nation; it has far more to lose through an embittering of the mutual relations than it can hope to gain through any restriction of Jewish initiative. In this policy of peace and cooperation we will not allow ourselves to be led astray by the murderous attacks upon the Jewish population in Jaffa and upon the Jewish colonies. We regret most deeply that the Arab name has been stained by deeds of violence and injustice and by the barbarities of a misguided and brutalized mob. This mob has disgraced the Arab nation, and though their action has left a deep and painful wound in our hearts, we shall not be deceived by it. We pride ourselves upon the fact that Eretz Yisrael will be a guiding light to all other countries in the world as a land of brotherly love and freedom. We are not going there to tread down another people in a spirit of mastery. By being modest and careful, never aggressive and offensive, and always clear and firm in purpose, our peace-loving, industrious, repatriated people will open up new sources of production through their means and their sacrifices, which will prove a blessing both to themselves and to the whole East. If individual Arabs attack our honest endeavors in a spirit of malice, these are only temporary phases that ought not to be taken too seriously in politics. It is, to be sure, to be hoped that they will give up such a misguided opinion, and that they will replace the impracticable attempt to get repealed the Balfour declaration which has already been accepted by the supreme council, by a desire to harmonize their interests as much as possible with those of the Jewish people. It would be ground for great satisfaction were the Arabs to regard their task in this light, and it would signify great progress in eastern affairs. So long as political phrases hold the field, an understanding will prove difficult, but as soon as the parties really get to work then statesmanlike, practical, and businesslike opinions will gain the day, and these will urge understanding and cooperation. Greater Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine offer a rich choice of fields for the energies and enterprise of their peoples. There the watchword shall be with one another, not against one another. All in cooperation against misery, neglect, laziness, disease, ignorance, and nomad life—and for agriculture, industry, technical progress, commerce, law, public security, reform of the



transport system, science, and art. We have resolved to dedicate whatever is best and deepest within our knowledge and power, the whole of our being, to this work of civilization. The rest of the world understood this, when the richly promising idea of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine was solemnly accepted. It was seen that this home is destined to become a brilliant model for the whole East. And though prejudices may at the moment cloud the light of reason, time, which in itself carries the 'necessity for action,' will gradually provide help and healing."

Mr. LIPSKY. If you could give me the time, I would like to introduce the address delivered by Doctor Weizmann in 1918 at the Government House in Jerusalem as an indication of the broad, liberal, sympathetic attitude of the Zionists toward the Arabs.

Mr. SABATH. The chairman is desirous, and I know we have a very important matter on hand, and consequently I feel, since there are only four members here, that if you could embody it in the hearings it will be read, I know.

Mr. LIPSKY. It will be found in Palestine, volume 111, No. 15, on the first page of that issue.

(The address of Doctor Weizmann referred to and submitted by Mr. Lipsky is here printed in full, as follows:)

I speak with a grave sense of responsibility. I wish to speak of peace, harmony, and cooperation between the communities here represented. On the spot where we are now standing my ancestors stood 20 centuries ago. From here they sent forth their great message, like the bread cast upon the waters, and now the waters are bringing this bread back to us, their descendants. We are united to-night under the wing of the mightiest of the world's powers, which is fighting for great ideals rooted in love for the old prophets of Palestine. Here the Jewish seers and poets proclaimed universal ideals of justice and peace; here we are the guests of the greatest of Bible-loving nations.

This great nation has told us in the declaration that our Jewish work accomplished in Palestine centuries ago has not been forgotten, and that our age-long devotion to Palestine has found recognition. In very truth, this is not all accident. It is destiny. I am no stranger to Palestine, though born in the remote north; neither is any one of my scattered brethren a stranger to it. Our forefathers heroically defended our right to this sacred country, and only after having been overwhelmed by a fate more cruel and sanguinary than even the present fate of Belgium and Armenia did they lose physical hold on Palestine. But our ancestors did not relinquish their claim to it. Instead of a political Palestine, they set up a moral and intellectual Palestine, which triumphantly resisted the onslaughts of every conceivable foe.

We do not, therefore, come to Palestine, we return to it; return to link up the glorious traditions of the past with the future, in order to create once more a great moral and intellectual center, whence, perhaps, a new world will come forth to a sorely tried world. This is for me the innermost meaning of a national home. But such a center must have real props, must have its roots in and derive strength from the soil of Palestine. We Zionists desire, therefore, to create conditions under which the moral and national development of those of the Jewish people who have freely chosen to come to Palestine will be rendered possible. This development will not and must not be detrimental to any of the great communities already established in the country. On the contrary, it will be to their advantage.

There is land enough and room enough in Palestine to sustain a population many times larger than the present population. All fears expressed openly or secretly by the Arabs that they are to be ousted from their present position are due either to a fundamental misconception of Zionist aims and intentions or to the malicious activities of our common enemies. Morally and materially it is to the mutual interest of Jew and Arab to live in friendship and peace; only under such conditions is the development of the country possible. Jewish colonists have shown that even under the deadening Turkish régime they were capable of transforming desert places into flourishing villages. How much more could be done under civilized conditions and under just and strong government? The benefits of this transformation will be shared by all inhabitants of the country. This is a sincere expression of Zionist aims.

I give a solemn warning against all misinterpretations and false allegations. You should not believe those who insinuate that the Jews intend to take the supreme political power of Palestine into their hands at the end of the war. I know too well the burdens and responsibilities of government, and Jews and Arabs alike have carefully watched the fate of Albania and Russia.

Self-government in modern times is a complicated science which no person can learn in a day. It will need a long and hard apprenticeship, under well-trained and trustworthy teachers. We Zionists declare that we desire the supreme political authority in Palestine to be vested in one of the civilized democratic powers, which should be selected for this purpose by the League of Nations. We desire this power to hold Palestine in trust until the population becomes capable of self-government. It is not for me to say at present which State that power should be, but before long Jewry, at any rate, will make up its mind, and when the happy day of peace dawns it will raise its voice and speak its opinion on this vital point.

But I wish to say at once that the Zionists do not believe that the internationalization of Palestine or any form of dual or multiple political control can benefit or be tolerated in this country. Palestine in its integrity must have one just and fair responsible guardian and only one.

We Zionists watch with deepest sympathy and profound interest the struggle for freedom which the ancient Arab race is now waging. We see the scattered Arab forces being cemented with the sympathies of the entente and the freedom-loving powers. Once more there is rising a strong and regenerated Arab political organism, which it will be hoped will revive the glorious traditions of Arab science and literature so much akin to our own. This kinship found its most glorious expression in the Spanish period of Judaeo-Arab development, when the best Jewish minds wrote and taught in the Arab tongue as freely as in Hebrew. To the north the Armenian nation, which at the present moment is paying the bloodiest toll to a cruel enemy, will rise triumphantly to claim justice and the right to live in peace on the soil which is being drenched with the blood of its best sons. To this nation our hearts go out, and we feel that these three nations—Arabs, Jews, and Armenians—who have suffered most in the world, have perhaps, of all nations, the highest claim to a life of their own, to a life of freedom and peaceful development. Destiny has chosen these three nations to guard the classic gate into the ancient world against Turanian hordes, which, armed with the deadliest of modern destructive weapons, are being organized by their taskmasters.

We Jews are already feeling the effects of the new menace. The Armenian massacres in the Caucasus and fresh Jewish massacres in Turkestan should serve as a warning to all of us. They should teach Arab, Jew, and Armenian to stand united in order to resist by all and every means in our power the forces of darkness and oppression which now threaten to overwhelm the civilized world. If this guard of freedom stands united, Palestine may look forward to a future as great as its past. It will become the link between East and West, interpreting the one to the other, and harmonizing their different, but not opposing, conceptions of life. We Zionists ask therefore for an opportunity for free national development in Palestine, and in justice that demand can not be refused. We want to cultivate our long-neglected land with modern methods and under a just, economic system, avoiding the social evils from which even the advanced countries of Europe are only now beginning to free themselves.

We want also, and here I am referring to what I regard as the coping stone of our present work, to make Palestine once more a fountain of knowledge and idealism through the creation of a Hebrew University at Jerusalem, a great intellectual center open to all mankind, in which the ancient truths of the prophets will obtain expression in modern form. In all this work, intellectual and agricultural, Zionists will not be injuring their neighbors in Palestine. On the contrary they will be helping them to a richer and fuller life. I ask my hearers not to underrate the measure of Jewish help. The eyes of our scattered people in every corner of the globe are now fixed on Palestine, and on what the Jews are doing there. The Jewish communities of the West are not without influence in the councils of the nations.

The city of Jerusalem is for Jews a holy shrine.

For that reason, if for that alone, Jews are able to respect the sentiments of others for whom Jerusalem is sacred. We wish to interfere in no way with the holy places to which the hearts of Moslems and Christians turn with reverence. We Zionists wish to live in Palestine at peace with all, on a basis of mutual regard and mutual respect. A message of good will going forth this night from Jerusalem will do much to allay fears and to bring to the stricken masses of our fellow men the hope of a new and better world. The hand of God now rests upon the peoples of Europe. Let all present unite in prayer that it may rest lightly.

Mr. LIPSKY. I will also put in the record an article by Leonard Stein, political secretary, World Zionist organization, on "Jew and Arab in Palestine," which I insert for the purpose of indicating that on the part of the enlightened Zionists there is discussion going on now as to how best to effect cooperation between Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

(The article "Jew and Arab in Palestine" submitted by Mr. Lipsky is here printed in full, as follows:)

**JEW AND ARAB IN PALESTINE—BOTH CAPABLE OF ACTIVE COOPERATION.**

[By Leonard Stein.]

How far is it possible for two peoples of widely different races and cultures to live side by side under the same Government without violence being done to the rights or interests of either? Pre-war Europe was constantly confronted with this problem and paid heavily for mishandling it. In the world as remade by the peace treaties it continues to be a source of anxiety. But there is one important distinction. The problem is no longer left to solve itself or remain unsolved. It is tending to become the concern of an international tribunal, whose moral authority no interested party can disregard. The encouraged results of the experiment which is being made at Danzig (to take one example only) under immediate auspices of the League of Nations suggest that where equal rights and liberties are adequately guaranteed, it is not impossible for apparently discordant elements to be harmonized.

The same problem arises, in a special form, in Palestine. The majority of the present inhabitants are Arabs. On the other hand, not only does there already exist a substantial and vigorous Jewish minority, but recognition has been given, by international agreement, to the peculiar significance which Palestine has never ceased to possess for the Jewish people as a whole, and provision is made in the draft mandate for the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home.

How Zionists themselves envisage the future relations between Arabs and Jews can be seen from the resolution on this subject which was passed by the recent Zionist congress at Carlsbad. After protesting against anti-Jewish excesses which took place in May the congress declares that such deeds of violence "can neither weaken the resolve of the Jewish people for the erection of the Jewish national home, nor their determination to live with the Arab people on terms of unity and mutual respect, and, together with them, to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure each of its peoples an undisturbed national development. The two great Semitic peoples, united of yore by the bonds of common cultural activity, will understand in the hour of their national regeneration to combine their vital interests in united work."

Given time for misunderstandings to be dissipated, a reasonable measure of good will and common sense on the part of both elements of the population, and—what is equally important—a capacity for imaginative statesmanship on the part of the local British authorities, there is no reason why the lofty ideals embodied in the Carlsbad resolution should not be realized.

As has often been pointed out, before the war the Jews were, on the whole, on perfectly friendly terms with their Arab neighbors. Even now, though relations between the two races are less cordial than they would be if only mischief-makers would restrain themselves, there are still many districts, especially in the rural areas, in which those relations are perfectly normal.

Concrete illustrations are, however, more instructive than generalities. Two or three typical instances of Arab-Jewish cooperation in the common interest may, therefore, be usefully cited.

In August last the Government of Palestine began to organize what may be described as a gendarmerie d'elite, 500 strong. Efforts were made to attract recruits of a superior class, and they were placed under the command of specially selected British officers. About one-third of the force consists of Jews. Most of the remaining two-thirds are Arabs. Asked recently by a representative of the Jerusalem Palestine Weekly whether the mixture of Christians, Jews, and Arabs was proving a success, Colonel Bramley, the director of public security, replied that "his experience in the gendarmerie, as also in the police, was that all three classes, when subject to salutary discipline and brought into close contact with each other under efficient, keen, and sympathetic officers can very rapidly establish mutual good feelings. It

is entirely a question of the spirit of discipline and loyalty to their obligations which can be instilled into them as members of a disciplined force."

The second instance relates to the orange trade, of which Jaffa is the center. The orange growers of the Jaffa district, irrespective of race, have quite recently agreed to take combined action for the control of exports. A joint committee of four Jews and four non-Jews has been selected, and the entire export trade is to be conducted under its auspices. Thus it appears that Jewish and non-Jewish traders are perfectly capable of working together in the defense of their common economic interests.

A third illustration may be drawn from the relations between Jewish and non-Jewish labor. Some time ago the Government of Palestine made a contract for the building of the Semakh-Tiberias road with a Jewish labor organization which operates on very much the same lines as the English building guilds. What followed is reported in the Zionist Bulletin of August 20, 1920:

"The Palestine Arab Club of Tiberias approached the committee with a view to securing employment for Arabs. The committee agreed to assign part of the work to 30 Arabs on the following conditions: The Arab laborers will receive the same pay as the Jews and receive a share in the profits. They will also receive the same medical and other advantages. The Arabs, on their part, agree to share the losses by having a certain percentage of pay kept back until all accounts are finished. They will pay the taxes of the agricultural organization and the sick fund. They promise to submit to the general discipline of the labor camp. The Arab club is responsible for the moral character of the workmen. A group which undertakes the work is not permitted to engage day laborers or engage any laborer at lower wages. Every group elects a representative to deal with the committee."

These instances are by no means exhaustive. They are however, sufficient to show that in an atmosphere unfavorable to political propaganda Jews and Arabs are capable not merely of mutual tolerance but of active cooperation, more especially where they are conscious of having material interests in common.

Thus the question of Arab-Jewish relations is closely related to the question of the Jewish share in the task of reconstruction. What are the Jews actually spending in Palestine and how are they spending it? How far are they actually contributing to the quickening of economic and social life to the advantage of the population as a whole?

It is not generally realized that since the British occupation upward of £1,500,000 has been expended in Palestine by the Zionist organization and allied Jewish bodies, including in particular the American relief organization, known as the joint distribution committee. Since the beginning of 1921 the Zionist organization alone has been sending to Palestine £35,000 a month. All this is exclusive of the large sums expended by private investors and benefactors, for which no published figures are available.

It would be impossible, within reasonable limits of space, to attempt more than a brief summary of the activities to which this expenditure is being devoted.

Large sums have been spent on the purchase of land, all purchases having been made in the ordinary way on the open market, and with the strictest regard for the interests of the few sitting tenants in occupation, whose rights are carefully safeguarded by the Government.

Progress has also been made in land development. Soil has been prepared and cleared, marshes have been drained, three agricultural experiment stations have been established, and experiments have also been made in poultry raising and the culture of the silk worm. Afforestation is being undertaken on an extensive scale. In 1919-20, 600,000 trees were planted and over one million seedlings prepared.

With a view to providing further facilities for the development both of rural and urban land the Zionist organization has recently founded a general mortgage bank with a capital of £200,000, of which £50,000 have been already subscribed.

A large proportion of the Zionist budget is devoted to education. While the Jews of Palestine naturally pay the same taxes as the other inhabitants, the entire cost of Jewish education, with the exception of a grant-in-aid of £E3,350, is voluntarily defrayed from Jewish funds. In 1920-21 the Zionist organization contributed £E69,805 toward the £89,692 expended by Jews on the maintenance of 133 Hebrew schools with 12,630 pupils.

Finally, allusion must be made to the medical work of the American Zionist medical unit, which maintains hospitals at Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Safed, as well

as a number of clinics, a bacteriological laboratory, and a nurses' training home. In the six months ended March, 1921, 2,641 new patients were admitted to hospital, 166,985 visits were paid to the clinics, 9,271 visits were paid to patients at their homes, and 19,665 laboratory examinations were made.

The unit's institutions are open to the sick without distinction of race, and the patients include a considerable percentage of Arabs.

Sanitary work has also been undertaken by the Zionists. An antimalarial campaign has been started on the shores of the Sea of Galilee and at Migdal (near Tiberias) with a fund of \$25,000 provided by an American donor. In Jerusalem, the Zionist commission has provided a drainage system for the northwestern district at a cost of £10,000 and handed it over to the municipality.

The foregoing observations are admittedly fragmentary and discursive. It is hoped, however, that what has been said is sufficient to show that it is perfectly possible for Jews and Arabs to live and work together on friendly terms, that the Jews are already beginning to contribute materially to the reconstruction of Palestine, and that the influx of Jewish labor and capital is to the advantage of the country as a whole.

I would like for Mr. Porter to hear before he goes away, a letter written by the Emir Feisel, who is at the present time King of Mesopotamia, the Prince Feisel to whom reference was made heretofore. This letter was addressed by Emir Feisel to Felix Frankfurter, who at that time was the representative of the Zionist organization in Paris. It is dated Paris, January 3, 1919, and you will find it in the magazine called Palestine, on page 45. I give this as proof of negotiations that have been carried on between the Zionists and Arab representatives, and that the Balfour declaration was satisfactory to the Arabs. [Reading.]

DEAR MR. FRANKFURTER: I want to take this opportunity of my first contact with American Zionists to tell you what I have often been able to say to Doctor Weizmann in Arabia and Europe.

We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization to the peace conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned to help them through; we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.

With the chiefs of your movement, especially with Doctor Weizmann, we have had, and continue to have, the closest relations. He has been a great helper in our cause, and I hope the Arabs may soon be in position to make the Jews some return for their kindness. We are working for a reformed and revived near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national, and not imperialist, and there is room in Syria for us both. Indeed, I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

FEISEL.

MR. COOPER. Feisel is the son of a king and a king himself?

MR. LIPSKY. Yes. You remember Professor Reed had the audacity to ascribe to us imperialistic ambitions. He called us the Jewish people, the Zionists, imperialists.

MR. SABATH. Who is Reed?

MR. LIPSKY. Professor Reed testified here for two hours; and he called the Zionists imperialists.

This letter I just read from Prince Feisel is an indication of what the actual situation was. Professor Reed built up his case upon the fact that the Arabs or the Palestinians had not been consulted.

Now, the truth of the matter is that at that time, when the future destiny of the Arab people was being considered, they were carrying on these and other negotiations, not with the Palestinians in Jerusalem or Palestinians in Jaffa; they were carrying on correspondence and negotiations with the representatives of the Arab people—Prince Feisel, his brothers, and his other deputized persons who had authority to act for the Arabs. The Arabs who were living in Palestine were not regarded as the Arab people. The Arab people were elsewhere, because their centers of culture and the religious centers of the Arab people are not in Palestine. They are in the Hejaz, in Mecca, Medina, and elsewhere.

The case of Professor Reed falls to the ground when you know that there were carried on all this time, at the peace conference, before the peace confer-

ence and after the San Remo conference, and before the San Remo conference, negotiations with representatives of the Arab people with regard to the self-determination of the Arab people—not the self-determination of a segment of a mixed population calling itself Arab who happened to be living in Palestine. They may have been living there for 6,000 years. It has been claimed they have been living there for 1,500 years in Palestine. It might just as well be 15,000 years, because it has no relation to any important fact in this connection.

The Arabs in Palestine were entitled to what is called "individual rights." The Arabs were entitled to the protection of their civil and religious rights as communities, as individuals. But the self-determination principle certainly has no application to the self-determination of every little group of a race or of a nationality. During the war what was considered the inherent right of self-determination had to do not with groups of people who happened by accident to be occupying a certain territory; it had to do with races, with nationalities. And when the peace conference determined that Poland was to be free, it meant the Polish people; it had in mind a people residing in certain territory who were to be given their freedom because they represented a cultural organization, the historical continuity of a certain people; and so, too, with regard to the Arabs. The Arabs entered into the World War on the side of the Allies, to whatever extent they may have come in, with a view to obtaining liberty for their nationality. They had been oppressed in different parts of Turkey; they had been oppressed in different parts of Syria and Arabia; they had been oppressed in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, and everywhere in the Turkish Empire; and they wanted to have their nationality, the future of their race, and the future of their culture assured as the result of the war. That was given to them in Hejaz, and it was given to them in Mesopotamia.

So far as Syria is concerned, even under the French mandate, it is the Arabic people in Syria who have the predominance in Syria; and if you want to go a little further, you will find them predominating even in Egypt. In Egypt, too, the Arabic culture and influence is predominant.

So, that instead of considering a case of a poor, feeble, oppressed handful of 600,000 members of a nationality that has not been given the right to self-determination, you have, in fact, this situation: The Arabic people, as a result of this war, have established one strong, independent nationality in the Hedjaz, with their own king; and they have in Mesopotamia, under English management, the Emir Feisel, as the king of Mesopotamia; they have predominance in Syria, they have predominance in Egypt, and also in Transjordan.

How did it come about that after this promise had been made to Hussein, the representative of the Arab people, how did it come about that subsequently the Balfour declaration was issued? The Balfour declaration was issued two years later. It was issued in consideration of the problem that arose out of the war that affected the Jewish people. There was among the British people a strong desire to help in the solution of the Jewish problems, not merely in providing a place where the Jews may go if they want to go, but in providing a place where the Jewish nationality was to be given the right to establish itself under free conditions, where it could have the opportunity to come into a land and build up its own institutions without oppressing anybody living there.

Mr. COOPER (presiding). And to be safe?

Mr. LIPSKY. And to be safe for the future, because you can probably find some place where you will be safe for half a generation, but you can not so easily find a place where you would be safe to protect yourself later on against oppression.

Mr. SMITH. How large a race is the Arabic people?

Mr. LIPSKY. If you will notice every one in speaking about the East has a different figure. But there are, it is assumed, about 35,000,000 Arabs.

Mr. TOTAH. Arabs in a different kind of country from Palestine. You can not compare the two. They are far apart. The Hejaz was referred to as a part of Palestine, which is a very erroneous idea.

Mr. LIPSKY. I did not say it was a part of Palestine.

Mr. COOPER. Did you say Hejaz was a part of Palestine?

Mr. LIPSKY. No.

Mr. COOPER. You misunderstood him. He did not say that.

Mr. LIPSKY. As I understand it, Hejaz was formerly what was known as Arabia. The Arabians settled in the Hejaz, they have there the cities of Mecca and Medina, which are the principal cities.

Mr. COOPER. It used to be Arabia?

Mr. LIPSKY. It used to be Arabia, and Mecca and Medina are there. They are the holy places of the Arabic people. Damascus is strongly Arabian; Beirut is Arabian, Cairo is Arabic. You can get from that the idea of the spread of the Arabic race.

Nothing was said here by Professor Reed about Arabic imperialism and he did not bring to the notice of the committee other things that indicate a tendency on the part of the Arabs to imperialism. He said nothing of pan-Islamism. One of the difficulties with the Arabs and the Allies was the development of the "pan-Arabic movement." At first the Arabs were humble. Their leaders were financially assisted. Then they became arrogant, aggressive, grasping. They wanted Hejaz as a center. Then they wanted a united Syria. Then they spoke of an Arabic empire, including all the Arabic countries. The unrest in regard to this matter traveled as far as India.

The difficulties that have resulted in Palestine are due, to a large extent, to the excitable pressure and psychological influence of this unrest among the Arabs and among the Moslems with regard to the pan-Arabic ambitions of Arabic leaders. This unrest in Palestine is due to the development of that psychology among the Arabs themselves. The Arabs in Palestine represent the backwash of that movement.

So that you can see how under these conditions what happens in Palestine is really not the responsibility of any individual; it is a responsibility of a wave of mass interest, a wave of mass excitement which is fomented by the propagandists who believe in the union of the entire Arabic race under one empire; the substitution of what was formerly the Turkish Empire with a strong combination of all the Arabic people of the East.

Mr. SMITH. Do they pay allegiance to the Turkish Empire?

Mr. LIPSKY. The Turkish Empire has been reduced by the allied conference to a very small radius around Constantinople.

The case of Professor Reed would be very strong, probably, if the facts were with him. Second, if there was an indication of friendliness and sympathy with regard to our oppressed people, the Jews, to give them a national home—to give them a haven of refuge—but from the testimony introduced here by the representatives of the Syrian people, from the admissions of Professor Reed, you see that they have a very strong feeling against the admission of Jews, small numbers or large numbers, it is immaterial. They want Jews excluded. This is their idea of liberty and justice. That is their idea of a people just freed from the oppression of the Turks. It is very curious. A people who were under the heel of the Turks for hundreds of years, that has not had a chance to raise its head for centuries. The Arabs establish themselves in Hedjaz and Mesopotamia, have the predominance of Syria and Egypt, appeal to this committee, made up of Americans, and say, "We stand for the exclusion of the Jews from Palestine, because we fear they may outnumber us."

With our opponents it is not the question of a national home. It is not the question of whether the Hebrew language will be revived, or whether schools will be established; nothing of the sort. Simply the fact that there would be coming into Palestine a majority to outnumber them. That fear is sufficient for them to come into a public hearing and state without any reserve that if they had their way they would keep the Jews from coming into Palestine for 10 years—keep them out altogether. It does not concern them that tens of thousands of Jews have no place to go. You would imagine the Arabs of Palestine would say, "We have no objections to them coming in as long as our civil and religious rights are protected. What happens afterwards, whether they have the majority or do not have the majority, does not concern us."

But instead of that Professor Reed, who speaks of Americanism before this committee, speaks of American ideals, makes these vindictive claims to Americans with regard to a situation of this sort.

I say that the fundamental issue is not the mandate and not even the Balfour declaration. The fundamental question is that of what is to be done for a homeless people of 14,000,000, whether they now enjoy a certain amount of liberty in one country at a certain time or not. The entire history of the Jewish people for 1,800 years has been a history of migration and moving here and moving there. The World War comes along and destroys the very foundations of life of 8,000,000 of them, and they are entitled to justice and right dealing in view of the fact that this war was fought for certain ideals and certain readjustments are being made, certain nations being set up that did not have a ghost of a chance two years before the war to set themselves up without assistance; certain nations have been set up on credit of the American

Government; certain nations have been put in position where they have control of millions and millions of people, because it was felt that that was the right thing to do.

And here are 14,000,000 Jews, with the very foundations of their lives removed, who find themselves in such a predicament that they appeal to the conscience of the world for a haven of refuge. They are absolutely without the means of reviving themselves without this assistance. We speak to the enlightened nations, "Give us this haven of refuge; we go in there with no intention of oppressing anybody or of taking away from anybody what they have, or taking away from any individual the rights, the religious liberties, or civil liberties which they have."

Mr. SMITH. That is what I would like to have you talk about.

Mr. LIPSKY. There was something said this morning to this effect: Would not the establishment of a majority of Jews in Palestine deprive the present population of certain civil and religious rights? The territory in Palestine does not belong to Palestinians as territory belongs to individuals who own the land. There was no nation in Palestine before the war. There was the Turkish Government that was ruling over Palestine. Now there is a provisional British Government ruling over Palestine.

That Government has given assurances to every individual, to every religious community, of the protection of the right to property, liberty, religious freedom, and religious institutions. The right to maintain municipal autonomy—

Mr. SMITH (interposing). Great Britain is friendly to them, and as far as any proprietary rights to the territory is concerned, that is in the control of Great Britain?

Mr. LIPSKY. Exactly as before. No Arab in Palestine is being deprived of his property. Instead of having in the United States a Federal Government made up of, say, usurpers, who come along and say, "This Government belongs to us," we would have a federal government where every city and state within Palestine would be entitled to its own local government. To-day the mayors of a number of cities in Palestine are Arabs and no right has been taken away from them.

Mr. SMITH. Has not Great Britain plenary power to solve this?

Mr. LIPSKY. Great Britain has taken possession of Palestine by force of arms. But this war was fought on the idea that it was not being fought for the sake of acquiring new territory.

Mr. SMITH. She, however, took a million square miles.

Mr. LIPSKY. But, in the case of Palestine, she made a promise to the Jewish people, in 1917, that in case the Allies won the war Palestine would be governed provisionally by England under a mandate which would be subject to a League of Nations or association of nations that might be established for the purpose of establishing such political and economic conditions in Palestine as would enable the Jewish people to establish a national home for themselves.

Under the Balfour declaration, speaking of the civil and religious rights of the population of Palestine, you do not mean by that that Palestine Arabs are entitled as a matter of right to remain forever the majority in Palestine. Not at all. It is not an infringement of their rights to say that into Palestine a million people may come. If you say that Palestine has free immigration, all peoples can come into Palestine. That is not the infringement of the rights of any individual; that is not the infringement of civil and religious rights of the present inhabitants. The rights we are speaking of are the rights of the whole, not the individual.

This is the basis of our argument. If you look at it from that point of view, you see that most of the remarks made by Professor Reed with regard to the mandate, with regard to the Arabs in Palestine not being consulted, with regard to the Balfour declaration being something un-American—all of these arguments fall to the ground. This is what the American people have already practically approved. It would be regarded as impertinent if I would say it, but certainly it is not at all proper to say that where Senators and Congressmen have expressed their opinion, that the opinion does not represent American public opinion. The American public opinion is in favor of the establishment in Palestine of such a haven of refuge as will enable the Jewish people to establish their civilization there.

Under those provisions civil and religious rights will be protected. Whether he spoke officially or unofficially, President Wilson stated this very clearly, and at Paris was instrumental in making it clear that he personally was in favor of this declaration.



Mr. SABATH. To make it clear, the land which the Jewish people acquire, they acquire by purchase?

Mr. LIPSKY. Absolutely.

Mr. SABATH. They pay for it themselves?

Mr. LIPSKY. Every inch of it, and very heavily, too.

Mr. SABATH. And consequently the value of the land has increased. That is, the land in that section of the country has been enriched. Is not that a fact?

Mr. LIPSKY. That is a fact. The value of the land owned by the Arabs in Palestine increased in many cases from 500 to 1,000 per cent. Land there which was formerly purchased for £5 now costs £14 or £15. Prices in Palestine for the good soil of Palestine have gone up tremendously. Rents in Jerusalem, and other places are as high as in the city of New York.

Mr. TOTAH. I would like to make a statement. I would like to ask a question.

Mr. COOPER. What is the question? This gentleman is making the closing statement, being the proponent of this measure.

Mr. TOTAH. I would like to have certain words put in the record. I can wait until the gentleman gets through.

Mr. COOPER. I would like to explain to you the method of procedure here. When a resolution or bill is introduced and is argued before a committee, the proponents of the measure, those in favor of it, open the argument, and then the opponents make their statements, and then those in favor of the measure customarily close the discussion.

Mr. TOTAH. I would like to make the closing argument if there is no objection.

Mr. COOPER. You want to make some statement, as I understand it.

Mr. SABATH. Before the gentleman proceeds, I have been handed a little memorandum to ask you this question. Is it not true that the majority of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine constitute only a sort of a fringe of the great Arabic world; that despite the fact that they are a mixed race, they are to all intents and purposes a part of the Arab nation whose national aspirations have been satisfied in the manner that you have described?

Mr. LIPSKY. That is the point that I was making.

**STATEMENT OF MR. SELIM TOTAH, OF NEW YORK CITY, REPRESENTING THE PALESTINE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA.**

Mr. TOTAH. I want to make a definition of the word "equity." The Standard Dictionary says equity denotes the spirit and the habit of fairness, justice, and right dealing for regulating intercourse of man with man; the rule of doing to others as we desire them to do to us. It is the rule of right and justice. It obligates the ethical rather than the spiritual and belongs to the sphere of morals. It is grounded in the precepts of conscience, not in the conclusion of positive law.

Before we go ahead, I want to refer to a newspaper clipping, which is a cablegram from the Pope and Cardinal Gasparri. I would like to have that go in the record.

Mr. SABATH. What is that?

Mr. TOTAH. It is the opinion of the Pope in Rome, and of Cardinal Gasparri, regarding the present situation in Palestine and the Holy places.

Mr. SMITH. It appears in the Washington Post of April 9.

Mr. TOTAH. Yes; it is a cablegram from Rome, dated April 8, 1922. It shows the spirit of the present Pope and his secretary of state, Cardinal Gasparri, regarding the present situation in Palestine.

Mr. SABATH. You do not know whether he is correctly quoted, do you?

Mr. TOTAH. It is from one of the authorities at Rome.

Mr. LIPSKY. I would submit, Mr. Chairman, that the gentleman having the floor, and having interrupted my remarks, there ought to be some relevancy in his statement to what I have been saying. He is introducing entirely new testimony—

Mr. TOTAH (interposing). I was granted the privilege to speak.

Mr. COOPER. You should have presented your case when you had the floor. You had a good deal of time for two days. This cablegram was published Sunday before last.

Mr. TOTAH. April 9.

Mr. COOPER. Two weeks ago.

Mr. LIPSKY. It was in his possession for days.

Mr. COOPER. That has been in your possession for two weeks, but you may go ahead. The whole thing ought to go in, not what you have cut out.

Mr. TOTAH. The whole thing can go in.

Mr. TOTAH. One word as to the work done during the late war.

Mr. COOPER. Did you tell the chairman of the committee you wanted to put that in?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. Did you show that to him?

Mr. TOTAH. Not that exact copy.

Mr. COOPER. Of course, there is not a quorum of the committee here, and you are offering to put something in—

Mr. SABATH (interposing). Let the gentleman offer it subject to approval later on. If any one raises a point of order against it, of course it can not go in.

Mr. COOPER. All right.

Mr. TOTAH. Nothing has been said so far regarding what part the Palestinians played during the late war. I want to show you a few facts about what my own people in this country have done during this war. One hundred men—and I can verify that from the Government records—one hundred men of my own town people, from Palestine, joined the American forces.

Mr. LIPSKY. Where?

Mr. TOTAH. Right here in this country. My own cousin has died in France. Here is a picture of his grave. (Exhibiting picture.) My own brother fought with the British Army in Palestine with the Chief of Staff. Here is his picture. (Exhibiting picture.) My own brother was with the Y. M. C. A. in France for one year. I was in the American Army. My own cousin, my first cousin, fought for four years with the British Army, both at Gallipoli and in France. He has been wounded three times. That is only a portion of my own family history as to what we have done in the war. This can be multiplied in all other families. Let me show you what General Liman von Sanders said about the Palestinians and their share in the war. He said, "the English are not the only enemy we have." He said, "We also have an enemy from within; that is, the Syrians and the Palestinians. They are in sympathy with the Allies."

Mr. LIPSKY. Who said that?

Mr. TOTAH. General Liman von Sanders. He said they are in sympathy with the Allies, and we are continually facing that situation. I can verify that statement. We can talk about the Balfour declaration from a theoretical standpoint, but that is all words. Let us go to the practical side and see what is going on, whether there is an impartial administration or not. The British Government has appointed—and I say it with all due respect—Sir Herbert Samuel as high commissioner, and yet the fact remains that he is a Jew.

Mr. COOPER. That has been pointed out by Mr. Lipsky. That is admitted.

Mr. TOTAH. His legal secretary is a Jew, and the controller of stores is a Jew.

Mr. SABATH. You do not consider that a crime, do you?

Mr. TOTAH. No; I am just showing you what the situation is and how with only 7 per cent Jews now the present administration is in the hand of the Jews.

Mr. LIPSKY. Do you know what percentage of the civil force are Jews?

Mr. TOTAH. The Director of Commerce and Industries is a Zionist and a Jew. There is no crime in that; but I am just giving you the facts.

Mr. SABATH. Why do you bring that out, because of his race?

Mr. TOTAH. No.

Mr. SABATH. Do you mean to charge that they are incompetent?

Mr. TOTAH. No; I am not trying to charge that. I am simply trying to show that the application of the Balfour promise in its final analysis means giving up the country to the Jews, and at the same time neglecting the wishes of the people.

Mr. LIPSKY. Will you answer a question? Will you tell the committee what percentage of the official administration in Palestine is Jewish and what percentage is Arabic?

Mr. TOTAH. Pardon me, another important question—

Mr. SABATH (interposing). Can you answer that question?

Mr. TOTAH. Is he a member of the committee?

Mr. SABATH. No; I would like to know that. I will make that my question. I will ask you that question.

Mr. TOTAH. I can not give you the figures on that. I want to give you these facts, and I am willing to abide by them. I can not give you the facts in regard to that.

Mr. COOPER. There are some Arabic men there in civil offices?

Mr. TOTAH. There are a few.

Mr. COOPER. There are some?

Mr. TOTAH. In these important offices, very few Arabs are appointed; as a matter of fact, I know of none.

Mr. COOPER. But this gentleman mentioned two or three who were mayors of cities.

Mr. TOTAH. Those are heads of municipalities. That is not what you call an office; it is not exactly a Government office.

Mr. COOPER. The head of a city, of any city of any size fills rather an important office, does he not?

Mr. TOTAH. He is not exactly the head of a city.

Mr. LIPSKY. The mayor of the city.

Mr. TOTAH. It is not exactly the mayor of a city; it is very different from the mayor of a city in this country. Although 93 per cent of the people are native Palestinians, so far as the speaking of the Arabic language in Palestine is concerned, the men in the administration have introduced and imposed upon an overwhelming majority of the people a language that is not spoken by them, and that is the Hebrew language.

Mr. COOPER. Do you mean to say they have compelled the Arabs to speak Hebrew?

Mr. TOTAH. They did not compel them in that sense, but they have incorporated the Hebrew language as one of the official languages, although 93 per cent of the people are non-Jewish.

Mr. COOPER. Let me call your attention to the fact that the American Government in the Philippines provides that the decisions of the courts there shall be in English and Spanish, and the same thing is true in Porto Rico. The great majority of the population in Porto Rico speak Spanish, but they do not compel those people who are Spaniards to speak the English language or write it.

Mr. TOTAH. I do not know about that, but I am telling you these facts, how there is partiality and a leaning toward the Jews by the present administration in Palestine. That is the only reason I am giving you these facts. I do not doubt your word about the Philippines and Porto Rico.

Mr. SABATH. The English language has also been forced on the Arabs?

Mr. TOTAH. I will not say it is forced, because the present Government there is English, and naturally uses the English language.

Mr. SABATH. It was not used there before, was it? The English language was not recognized before.

Mr. TOTAH. The introduction of the English language into the Philippines is not like the introduction of the Hebrew language in Palestine. To-day the Government there is British. What is the Hebrew language doing in there?

Mr. SABATH. Do you not think the people are entitled to use their own language?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes; their language is Arabic. They are entitled to use Arabic, and 93 per cent of the population speak Arabic.

Mr. SABATH. They are not forcing the Arabs to use the Hebrew language.

Mr. TOTAH. They are adopting it as an official language.

Mr. SABATH. Is there any harm done when the Hebrew language is also permitted to be used?

Mr. TOTAH. I think my previous answer covers that. It only shows the trend of interference on the part of the administration in Palestine at the present time. Contracts have been invariably given to Zionists, although they were not the lowest bidders.

Mr. COOPER. Can you name any contracts?

Mr. TOTAH. The father of the gentleman who was here yesterday put in a lower bid than one of the Zionists for supplying wood; that is, his father and his brother put in a lower bid, but they were not given the contract.

Mr. COOPER. It does not always follow that the lowest bidder is the best bidder, and we always reserve the right in this country to reject any one of the bids, or reject any one or all of them. Frequently people make the lowest bids but when you look into their responsibility for carrying out the terms of the bid and find they are not able to do it, the contract is awarded to the next highest bidder. So the fact that a man has made a lower bid than any one else and had his bid rejected does not show, necessarily, that any injustice was done, but simply that justice was done the taxpayers.

Mr. TOTAH. If it is continued it shows a leaning toward the Zionists to the detriment of the inhabitants who are in the majority.

I want to read and have it go on record—

Mr. SABATH (interposing). In regard to this matter you complained about, was not that in the section of Palestine that is populated by the Jewish people?

Mr. TOTAH. In reference to the contracts?

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mr. TOTAH. The contracts are given by the central government in Jerusalem.

Mr. SABATH. For what?

Mr. TOTAH. For public works.

Mr. SABATH. Where are the public works?

Mr. TOTAH. Throughout the country; contracts for doing work of a public nature. In this instance it was to supply wood for public use.

Mr. SABATH. All over the entire country?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes. I can not give you the exact facts or tell you just where they had to get it, or where they had to deliver it.

Mr. LIPSKY. I submit, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that the gentleman is taking my time, and what he is saying has no bearing upon anything which is now before the committee.

Mr. TOTAH. Here is a report from the Jewish Chronicle of March 24, 1922, in regard to the dismissal of the British Palestine officials.

Mr. SABATH. What is it about?

#### DISMISSAL OF BRITISH PALESTINE OFFICIALS—ALLEGED JEWISH PREFERENCE.

The Cairo correspondent of the Morning Post telegraphed last Friday: The Palestine papers announce the names of several of the most prominent British officials in the Palestine administration who are to be discharged for reasons of economy. The list includes several governors of districts. The papers comment on the fact that with one exception all the names are those of officials whose sympathies are with the Arabs. They also comment on the fact that the list does not contain one Jew, though Mr. Bentwich, whose post as legal secretary has been suppressed, has been given another appointment.

Mr. TOTAH. The substance of it is that some of these officials are to be discharged for reasons of economy.

Mr. SABATH. Are to be discharged for reasons of economy?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. That is proper, is it not.

Mr. TOTAH. There is a list given of several government officials and those are the names of Arabs.

If this committee and the American Congress is going to endorse the Balfour promise and the mandate, they are going to help bloodshed. I want to give to you a clipping from the Associated Press, from Jerusalem, dated April 18.

Mr. SABATH. You are against the British rule, are you?

Mr. TOTAH. No, I am not.

Mr. SABATH. You are against the British Government; you are objecting to anything the British Government is doing there?

Mr. TOTAH. No, I am not. I beg your pardon. I have a lot of Jewish classmates and friends. I am only talking for the natives' own rights.

Mr. SABATH. What do you mean by your own rights? You are an American, are you not?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir. This is the first impartial inquiry that has been afforded the native Palestinians; and, on behalf of the Palestine National League, I want to thank the American Government and the American Congress for affording us this first important privilege. The principles of progress—

Mr. COOPER (interposing). Can we not get through with this sometime?

Mr. TOTAH. I will finish in a moment. The principles of progress are taking the place of the old precedents, and the spirit of the 14 points of President Wilson is now being contradicted by the Balfour promise and by the Fish and Lodge resolutions—if they are carried. I would like to put into the record what writers in general say about Zionism. I refer to important writers in this country, such as Herbert Adams Gibbons and Professor Clay, of Yale University.

Mr. COOPER. Why did you not put those in when you presented your case, so that somebody might have had an opportunity to see them?

Mr. TOTAH. They will be read.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

#### VATICAN SEEKS CHANGE IN PALESTINE MANDATE—DISSATISFIED WITH PLANS FOR CONTROL OF HOLY PLACES, ZIONIST LEADER SAYS.

ROME, April 8.—The Vatican is not satisfied with clause 14 of the Palestine mandate concerning control of the holy places, and will probably use its in-

fluence to change it when the mandate comes before the meeting of the League of Nations for ratification, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, of London, president of the Zionist organization of the world, told your correspondent after an interview with Cardinal Gasparri, the papal secretary of state.

The clause in question puts in charge of these sites an interreligious commission, including representatives of the Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Jews, and Mohammedans. Cardinal Gasparri thinks the commission, so composed, will be unable to do anything, because the interests represented are so conflicting, and believes Catholics should have the larger representation.

Another difficulty facing the ratification of the Palestine mandate given England, Doctor Weizmann says, is the opposition of the American Government, due to the Mosul oil question, as the Mesopotamian and Palestine mandates have been linked together. The British, he declares, are willing to have the two considered separately, and if Washington agrees to this, as the Zionists are urging the State Department to do, the Palestine mandate probably will be approved.

The uncertainty concerning the mandate he considers one of the chief sources of trouble for the Zionists in Palestine. In the last two years, he said, 100,000 Jews, chiefly from Poland and Russia, had settled in Palestine and were arriving at the rate of 1,000 per month.

Mr. LIPSKY. Mr. Chairman, some statements have been made by the previous witness that are entirely new and which should have been introduced when the witnesses made their first statements. I would like to point out that the remarks of the last witness indicate a state of mind which it is very important for the committee to take into consideration, especially with regard to the charge that was made here of a desire to oppress the Arabs in Palestine, and the manner in which the gentleman who has just spoken expresses his friendship for the Jewish people. We did not mention what the Jewish people have contributed toward the success of the Allies. We thought that was not the point which was under consideration here.

But there went out from the United States over 4,000 young Jews who were not subject to the draft law to serve in Allenby's army to fight against the Turks. There went out in Palestine itself over three or four thousand young Palestinians living in territory that belonged to the Turks, who managed to get in touch with Allenby's army and served in the Jewish legion which fought in Palestine. Those men formed a legion that went with the allied forces to Gallipoli, and in that Jewish legion, not subject to draft in any country, there were several thousands who lost their lives. We have in this country at the present time Colonel Patterson, an English officer, who was responsible for the organization of the Jewish forces which went to Gallipoli, and Mr. Jabotinsky was one of the leading factors in the organization of the Jewish legion, which was made up of Jewish young men not subject to the draft from the United States, England, and Palestine.

I also point out from the attention of the members of the committee the method of inciting a riot by constantly reiterating the possibility of riots.

The Arab press has been carrying on for the last three or four months a propaganda intended to warn the Jewish people that riots were coming. Now, I am not speaking of the Arab people in general, or the peasants working in the fields, but of the agitators in the cities, members of nationalist clubs in the cities, members of Arab nationalist clubs. They are the ones, these members of the Arab nationalist clubs, who are responsible for carrying on this propaganda, which keeps on repeating again and again that riots are coming. The action which has been taken by the British Government and by the Allies is intended to protect Jewish interests. The Balfour declaration prevents riots; the influx of new Jewish immigration prevents riots. It is the assumption that every act on the part of the Jewish people is inherently wrong, and therefore produces riots. The idea is put forth that every act of the Jewish people to maintain business or establish themselves or every act of the Jewish people in trying to get a foothold tends toward riots, and is used as an argument in favor of riots. It is said that if you do this or that riots will happen. I submit that that is not an indication of friendship, and that any witness who presents this plea or any witness representing any group who develop such ideas of animosity and hatred in his demands ought to have his testimony very carefully scrutinized by the members of this committee.

Mr. SABATH. Especially in view of the statement of the gentleman who tried to point out to us the meaning of the word "equity."

Mr. LIPSKY. Those were good words which he read.

Mr. SABATH. But they do not seem to understand them, do they?

Mr. LIPSKY. It is a fact that in Palestine in the civil administration—in the Palestine government administration—the percentage of Jews is small. I could pick out 50 Arabs; that might give you the impression that all the people there are Arabs. The fact is there are some Jews, a number of them in high official position, because they happen to appoint them, being British subjects and knowing British law. Colonel Bentwich, who is a lawyer of high standing in England and who is one of the Zionists in Palestine, because he happened to be in Palestine was appointed one of the judges. He is a very able lawyer, and there was no Arab who could fill that position. So there are other positions which have been filled by Jews, but the majority of the positions have been filled by Arabs, and a small minority are Jews.

It is true that Jews have been given contracts. But there was public bidding. The Government Register prints a notice to the effect that bids will be taken for doing certain work, and bids are put in, and officials taking these bids are not Jewish. The complaint of the Zionist Organization has been that the military officials in Palestine have been constantly working against the interests of the Balfour declaration. Some of the things read into the record by Professor Reed had to do with the complaints on the part of Doctor Weizmann that the military officials were working against the colonial office in regard to establishing a Jewish national home. The military officials have been charged with negligence in not taking precautions to prevent riots, because it was the general impression that the military officials were not in sympathy with the British policy with regard to the establishment of a national home in Palestine. Those are incidents of this arrangement. They are instances in connection with the carrying out of a very difficult undertaking.

We admit that the situation presented by the Jewish people, homeless and scattered, desiring to establish a national home, presents a very unique situation. It is a proposition unparalleled in history, and it is unparalleled in history that for so many generations our people should be holding this longing in their hearts without being able to satisfy it. Now, at this moment, there comes an opportunity to satisfy it at the expense of no people, at the expense of no individual rights, and at the expense of nobody's property.

In issuing the Balfour declaration care had to be exercised in framing it so as not to offend Jews who might feel that this was an infringement of their position in the countries where they were living. They had to be very careful not to affect religious or racial communities in Palestine; they had to be very careful to make a formula to avoid those things, and that is why a great deal of time was spent in putting together the words of the Balfour declaration.

I am surprised that Professor Reed should have put into the record of this committee unfair, unwarranted references to an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and that he should have tried to make it appear as if the act of the Associate Justice in assisting in the formulation of the Balfour declaration was something not worthy of the position he occupied.

The fact that the Associate Justice referred to considered it as a moral obligation to help in doing a thing which was very difficult, that involved essential justice, and to do it in the right way, should not be taken as a matter which deserves the insinuations of Professor Reed, but should be taken as a matter of the greatest praise, that he should have served his people, put himself out so that this thing should be done justly and fairly.

I say that is why the Balfour declaration was passed along to the representative of the Arab people, not, of course, to the Palestinian Arabs, but to the representatives, as far as they could find the representatives, of the Arab people this Balfour declaration was shown, and you will see from the letter of Prince Feisel that he knew about it and approved it, that it was a very moderate statement. He admired the Zionists for presenting their claim in so moderate a form. Then after the allied conference at San Remo, it became necessary for the British Government to formulate the terms of the contract it would make with the Jewish people, with the population of Palestine, and with the League of Nations, the terms of the agreement under which it became the mandatory power for Palestine, and naturally there have been negotiations and conferences.

The Zionist organization is not a secret organization. We conduct propaganda that is open; we have a weekly newspaper that has a wide circulation, and everybody can see that newspaper. Professor Reed gets it every week.

Our leaders speak openly. They have nothing to conceal. Doctor Weizmann conducts the negotiations with the Governments and comes back and tries to explain them to his people. That he has done in speeches. Sometimes the explanation does not fit the present situation because the situation has changed. You have to read everything that Doctor Weizmann or others have said with regard to the mandate and the declaration, and have to judge those things at the time they were said and the conditions under which they were delivered.

Professor Reed's intimations that these negotiations and the changes in the text involved something underhand and not worthy—all of these insinuations are not worthy of the record of this committee.

The Palestine mandate has been revised to my knowledge five or six times. Objections were raised by the British Government, the Zionist organization, and other interests outside of the British Government which are concerned in the manner in which Palestine shall be governed, and these objections have been met, have been accepted, new texts have been issued and again considered, and the text read by Professor Reed is one of the texts which has already been revised, as you will see from the statement of Mr. Churchill, and the conditions mentioned in the mandate have been altered and probably will be altered again, and even when the League of Nations will adopt this mandate it will be revised, because there is no intention on the part of the British Government to do anything but justice in Palestine, with due regard to the promise she made to the Jewish people.

The promise made to the Jewish people in the minds of many Englishmen is the promise based upon prophecy, and based upon belief in the truth of the Bible. There are thousands of Englishmen who have a very strong belief in the destiny of the British people to cooperate in the redemption of Israel.

The Jewish people who live in Palestine have no ill feeling toward the Arabs. You can see that from the fact that in the places where the Arabs are employed they are part of the life of the Jewish people wherever they aid in making conditions so that the Jewish people can live in friendship and neighborliness.

Mr. SMITH. That is prophecy made in the Bible, is it not?

Mr. LIPSKY. We have a very large sect in the United States, the Second Day Adventists, the Christadelphians, the Bible Students. The Christians in the United States have made much more of the prophecies than the Jews.

Mr. SMITH. That is what you refer to?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes; the church of the Seventh Day Adventists is based on the validity of prophecies. There is a very large organization of the Brotherhood of Bible Students, all of whom believe in the return to Palestine and in assisting the Jews in that, because they think that by the return of the Jews the prophecy is actually fulfilled.

Reference was made to a cablegram which was received from Rome in reference to the opinion of the Pope with regard to Zionism.

Mr. SABATH. You refer to the article that the preceding witness desired to put into the record.

Mr. LIPSKY. Have you read the article?

Mr. SABATH. Do you wish to read it?

Mr. LIPSKY. I think I have seen it. We had from the late Pope a very favorable statement with regard to the Balfour—

Mr. COOPER (interposing). You mean the Pope who recently died?

Mr. LIPSKY. Yes, the Pope who recently died. Naturally the Vatican is intensely interested in the protection of the holy places. In the mandate which has been formulated and in the resolution of Senator Lodge presented in the Senate, there is a special provision for the protection of the holy places. In the mandate there is a provision for the appointment of a committee which shall be in charge of all the holy places, to be composed of Christians, Moslems, and Jews. The Jewish people are intensely interested in the protection of the holy places.

Mr. COOPER. If you are going to make it a mere matter of pure mercenary operation, to get it down to the most vulgar possible aspect in reference to the preservation of those holy places, the entire, perfect protection of them is the only thing that will continue to attract the Christian tourists, and more and more millions will go there. Taking it from that viewpoint alone, the Jews and the Arabs and the Christians are intensely interested in the preservation of those places.

Mr. LIPSKY. That is what Sir Herbert Samuel refers to in his report about the tourists. They are already making preparations in connection with the segregation of certain holy places and the control of them, naturally having due regard for the sensibilities of all people interested in those historical places.

Mr. SABATH. You said something about a statement made public. To whom was the statement made?

Mr. LIPSKY. The statement to that effect was made by the Pope, Pope Benedict. We understand Doctor Weizmann has been to the Vatican within the last two or three weeks, but this report is the only intimation we have had as to what happened there at that time. We are waiting to hear from Doctor Weizmann himself.

Mr. SABATH. Did he not express sympathy with the cause?

Mr. LIPSKY. As I read it, the Pope expressed sympathy for the Zionist movement, but said provision should be made for the protection of the holy places and the shrines. I believe that is correct. That is in line with the ideas of the British Government, the Zionist organization, and the Jewish people in general, and I believe also in line with the ideas of the Arabs. There is no idea of presenting a situation where the holy places will be in any way a subject of controversy or partisan interest.

I want to refer to an argument which was made here by Doctor Philipson as to the implication of alienism that may arise in case a Jewish State would be created in Palestine. I consider that argument based on what may be considered crass selfishness. If a thing is right, if a thing is necessary, it may affect you in some way or other, but if the thing is right it should be done. If it becomes necessary for the Jews of this country to act on behalf of their persecuted brethren, and they act with justice and make sacrifices in giving up something of their own for the benefit of their fellow Jews, and they build up something of value to humanity, the fact that there may be created in the minds of ignorant men an implication that this man is not exactly wholly American, is a notion that has no weight, when you consider the action taken. You may as well say that an Italian who helps to build up something in Italy proclaims by that fact he is an Italian citizen. Somebody may say that man is an Italian-American, or another man may be interested in Czechoslovakia, and he may be interested from a humanitarian point of view, with a view of helping somebody get on his feet, and helping in building up something of value.

The fact that a man does that may distinguish him as a person of Italian interests, and may in the minds of the ignorant associate him with Italy. But that should not deter him from doing the right thing when he knows that is the right thing to be done. And it is not at all true, as a matter of fact, that Zionism has produced that sort of feeling. It has been pointed out that during the last 60 or 70 years there has been a development of national feeling all over the world, a development of a feeling which may be said to be the cause of the hope that will bring about the redemption of the world. This national feeling will in the long run produce a more colorful and much finer relationship between people.

Doctor Philipson gave the impression that in the United States the Zionist movement was the product of the invasion of east Europeans. I would like to refute that on this record and put down the names of the early Zionists in the United States.

One of the first was Emma Lazarus, a poet, who wrote beautiful verse in the English language and who had the admiration of Emerson and Thoreau and was their friend. Mordecai Manuel Noah was a man who stood very high in New York affairs. He was one of the first Zionists. Both he and Emma Lazarus were descendants of Spanish Jews. The first Jews in this country were Spanish Jews, and these two representatives of the Spanish Jews were the first Zionists in the United States.

Subsequently we had Dr. Gustav Gottheil, a Rabbi of Temple Emanuel in New York, one of the leaders of Reform Judaism in the United States. He was at one time president of the Rabbinical Conference referred to by Doctor Philipson. He was the founder of a school in New York which trained rabbis and he was a most ardent Zionist. He was a German Jew, born in Germany.

Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, of Chicago, was one of the earliest Zionists. He was a remarkable mathematician in addition to being a rabbi. He was a very fine essayist. His essays had a great deal to do with the development of Zionism in the United States. He was a German Jew of the reform wing among the Jewish people.

Then there was Dr. Marcus Jastrow. I think he was a Hungarian or Polish Jew. He was one of the earliest Zionists. I remember him as a very old man. He used to come to Zionist meetings and speak, and he used to write in Jewish newspapers about Zionism. He was a very type of Jewish scholar in the rabbiniate.



Mr. COPPER. Was he the man who was such an expert in the study of mentality?

Mr. LIPSKY. That is his son.

Then there was Dr. Benjamin Szold, of Baltimore, who was one of the best Hebrew scholars of the time. Dr. Louis N. Denbitz, an uncle of Associate Justice Brandeis, a writer, a speaker, a lawyer, and a very fine Hebrew scholar. He also participated in the Zionist movement from the very beginning.

The organizer of the American Zionist organization was Prof. Richard Gotthell, a son of Doctor Gotthell. He was born in Manchester, England. His father was a German Jew. He was the first president of the American Zionist organization. Then there was Dr. Stephen S. Wise. He at that time was a very young man. He was born in Hungary, I believe. He was the first secretary of the American Zionist organization.

The founders of the Zionist movement in the United States were not Eastern Europeans. They were, in fact, representatives of the Reformed Jewish Temple, or church, and even to-day many of our most active workers, many of our best minds, are representatives of Reformed Judaism. There are, for instance, Dr. Max Heller, of New Orleans, Dr. Martin A. Meyer, of San Francisco, and Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, of Philadelphia.

In connection with the origin of Zionism, I would like to put into the record this finely written and thoughtful article prepared by Mr. Brandeis before he went on the Supreme Court bench. It will indicate to you more than anything I can say how, in the minds of many American Jews, the ideals of the Zionist movement are closely associated with the ideals of the American people.

I do not mean the ideal represented by Professor Reed. They are the spurious American ideals, expressing themselves in a desire to withdraw from the generous, the hopeful, as if the moral values have no interest for the American people.

I say that I can not express our feelings in the matter as well as they are expressed by Mr. Brandeis in his essay, and I would like to have that go in, for the enlightenment of the members of the committee.

(The pamphlet referred to is printed in the record in full, as follows:)

#### THE JEWISH PROBLEM—HOW TO SOLVE IT.

[By Louis D. Brandeis.]

The suffering of the Jews due to injustices continuing throughout nearly 20 centuries is the greatest tragedy in history. Never was the aggregate of such suffering larger than to-day. Never were the injustices more glaring. Yet the present is preeminently a time for hopefulness. The current of world thought is at last preparing the way for our attaining justice. The war is developing opportunities which may make possible the solution of the Jewish problem. But to avail ourselves of these opportunities we must understand both them and ourselves. We must recognize and accept facts. We must consider our course with statesmanlike calm. We must pursue resolutely the course we shall decide upon; and be ever ready to make the sacrifices which a great cause demands. Thus only can liberty be won.

#### WHAT THE PROBLEM IS.

For us the Jewish problem means this: How can we secure for Jews, wherever they may live, the same rights and opportunities enjoyed by non-Jews? How can we secure for the world the full contribution which Jews can make, if unhampered by artificial limitations?

The problem has two aspects: That of the individual Jew—and that of Jews collectively. Obviously, no individual should be subjected anywhere, by reason of the fact that he is a Jew, to a denial of any common right or opportunity enjoyed by non-Jews. But Jews collectively should likewise enjoy the same right and opportunity to live and develop as do other groups of people. This right of development on the part of the group is essential to the full enjoyment of rights by the individual. For the individual is dependent for his development (and his happiness) in large part upon the development of the group of which he forms a part. We can scarcely conceive of an individual German or Frenchman living and developing without some relation to the contemporary German or French life and culture. And since death is not a solution of the problem of life, the solution of the Jewish problem necessarily involves the continued existence of the Jews as Jews.

Jews have always found it difficult, if not impossible, to prescribe by definition who shall be deemed Jews. But in the connection in which we are considering the term, it is certainly not in the power of any single body of Jews—or indeed of all Jews collectively—to establish the effective definition. The meaning of the word Jewish in the term Jewish problem must be accepted as coextensive with the disabilities which it is our problem to remove. It is the non-Jews who create the disabilities and in so doing give definition to the term Jew. Those disabilities extend substantially to all of Jewish blood. The disabilities do not end with a renunciation of faith, however sincere. They do not end with the elimination, however complete, of external Jewish mannerisms. The disabilities do not end ordinarily until the Jewish blood has been so thoroughly diluted by repeated intermarriages as to result in practically obliterating the Jew.

And we Jews by our own acts give a like definition to the term Jew. When men and women of Jewish blood suffer, because of that fact—and even if they suffer from quite different causes—our sympathy and our help goes out to them instinctively, in whatever country they may live and without inquiring into the shades of their belief or unbelief. When those of Jewish blood exhibit moral or intellectual superiority, genius, or special talent, we feel pride in them, even if they have abjured the faith—like Spinoza, Marx, Disraeli, or Heine. Despite the mediations of pundits or the decrees of councils, our own instincts and acts and those of others have defined for us the term Jew.

#### LIBERALISM AND ANTISEMITISM.

Half a century ago the belief was still general that Jewish disabilities would disappear before growing liberalism. When religious toleration was proclaimed the solution of the Jewish problem seemed in sight. When the so-called rights of man became widely recognized, and the equal right of all citizens to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness began to be enacted into positive law, the complete emancipation of the Jew seemed at hand. The concrete gains through liberalism were indeed large. Equality before the law was established throughout the western hemisphere. The Ghetto walls crumbled; the ball and chain of restraint were removed in central and western Europe. Compared with the cruel discrimination to which Jews are now subjected in Russia and Roumania, their advanced condition in other parts of Europe seems almost ideal.

But the anti-Jewish prejudice was not exterminated even in those countries of Europe in which the triumph of civil liberty and democracy extended fully to Jews "the rights of man." The anti-Semitic movement arose in Germany a year after the granting of universal suffrage. It broke out violently in France, and culminated in the Dreyfus case, a century after the French Revolution had brought "emancipation." It expressed itself in England through the aliens act within a few years after the last of Jewish disabilities had been there removed by law. And in the United States the Saratoga incident reminded us, long ago, that we too have a Jewish question.

The disease is universal and endemic. There is, of course, a wide difference between the Russian disabilities, with their pale of settlement, their denial of opportunity for education and of choice of occupation, and their recurrent pogroms, and the German disabilities, curbing university, bureaucratic, and military careers. There is a wide difference also between these German disabilities and the mere social disabilities of other lands. But some of those now suffering from the severe disabilities imposed by Russia and Roumania are descendants of men and women who in centuries before our modern liberalism enjoyed both legal and social equality in Spain and southern France. The manifestations of the Jewish problem vary in the different countries, and at different periods in the same country, according to the prevailing degree of enlightenment and other pertinent conditions. Yet the differences, however wide, are merely in degree and not in kind. The Jewish problem is single and universal. But it is not necessarily eternal. It may be solved.

#### DEMOCRACY AND NATIONALITY.

Why is it that liberalism has failed to eliminate the anti-Jewish prejudice? It is because the liberal movement has not yet brought full liberty. Enlightened countries grant to the individual equality before the law; but they fail still to recognize the equality of whole peoples or nationalities. We seek to protect

as individuals those constituting a minority; but we fail to realize that protection can not be complete unless group equality is recognized.

Deeply imbedded in every people is the desire for full development—the longing, as Mazzini phrased it, “to elaborate and express their idea, to contribute their stone also to the pyramid of history.” Nationality, like democracy, has been one of the potent forces making for man's advance during the past hundred years. The assertion of nationality has infused whole peoples with hope, manhood, and self-respect. It has ennobled and made purposeful millions of lives. It offered them a future, and in doing so revived and capitalized all that was valuable in their past. The assertion of nationality raised Ireland from the slough of despondency. It roused southern Slavs to heroic deeds. It created gallant Belgium. It freed Greece. It gave us united Italy. It manifested itself even among the free peoples—like the Welsh—who had no grievance, but who gave expression to their nationality through the revival of the old Cymric tongue. Each of these peoples developed because, as Mazzini said, they were enabled to proclaim “to the world that they also live, think, love, and labor for the benefit of all.”

In the past it has been generally assumed that the full development of one people necessarily involved its domination over others. Strong nationalities are apt to become convinced that by such domination only does civilization advance. Strong nationalities assume their own superiority, and come to believe that they possess the divine right to subject other peoples to their sway. Soon the belief in the existence of such a right becomes converted into a conviction that duty exists to enforce it. Wars of aggrandisement follow as a natural result of this belief.

This attitude of certain nationalities is the exact correlative of the position which was generally assumed by the strong in respect to other individuals before democracy became a common possession. The struggles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both in peace and in war were devoted largely to overcoming that position as to individuals. In establishing the equal right of every person to development, it became clear that equal opportunity for all involves this necessary limitation: Each man may develop himself so far, but only so far, as his doing so will not interfere with the exercise of a like right by all others. Thus liberty came to mean the right to enjoy life, to acquire property, to pursue happiness in such manner and to such extent as the exercise of the right in each is consistent with the exercise of a like right by every other of our fellow citizens. Liberty thus defined underlies twentieth century democracy. Liberty thus defined exists in a large part of the western world. And even where this equal right of each individual has not yet been accepted as a political right, its ethical claim is gaining recognition. Democracy rejected the proposal of the superman who should rise through sacrifice of the many. It insists that the full development of each individual is not only a right, but a duty to society; and that our best hope for civilization lies not in uniformity, but in wide differentiation.

The movements of the last century have proved that whole peoples have individuality no less marked than that of the single person; that the individuality of a people is irrepressible, and that the misnamed internationalism which seeks the obliteration of nationalities or peoples is unattainable. The new nationalism proclaims that each race or people, like each individual, has a right and duty to develop, and that only through such differentiated development will high civilization be attained. Not until these principles of nationalism, like those of democracy, are generally accepted will liberty be fully attained and minorities be secure in their rights. But there is ground for hope that the establishment of these principles will come as one of the compensations of the present war and with it the solution of the Jewish problem.

#### NATIONS AND NATIONALITY.

The difference between a nation and a nationality is clear, but it is not always observed. Likeness between members is the essence of nationality, but the members of a nation may be very different. A nation may be composed of many nationalities, as some of the most successful nations are. An instance of this is the British nation, with its division into English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish at home; with the French in Canada; and, throughout the Empire, scores of other nationalities. Other examples are furnished by the Swiss nation with its German, French, and Italian sections; by the Belgian nation composed of Flemings and Walloons; and by the American Nation,

which comprises nearly all the white nationalities. The unity of a nationality is a fact of nature. The unifying of a nation is largely the work of man. The false doctrine that nation and nationality must be made coextensive is the cause of some of our greatest tragedies. It is, in large part, the cause also of the present war. It has led, on the one hand, to cruel, futile attempts at enforced assimilation, like the Russanizing of Finland and Poland, and the Prussianizing of Posen, Schleswig-Holstein, and Alsace-Lorraine. It has led, on the other hand, to those Panistic movements which are a cloak for territorial ambitions. As a nation may develop though composed of many nationalities, so a nationality may develop though forming part of several nations. The essential in either case is recognition of the equal rights of each nationality.

#### JEWISH NATIONALITY.

W. Allison Philips recently defined nationality as "an extensive aggregate of persons, conscious of a community of sentiments, experiences, or qualities which made them feel themselves a distinct people." And he adds: "If we examine the composition of the several nationalities we find these elements: Race, language, religion, common habitat, common conditions, mode of life and manners, political association. The elements are, however, never all present at the same time, and none of them is essential." \* \* \* "A common habitat and common conditions are doubtless powerful influences at times in determining nationality; but what part do they play in that of the Jews or the Greeks, or the Irish in dispersion?"

See how this high authority assumes without question that the Jews are, despite their dispersion, a distinct nationality; and he groups us with the Greeks or the Irish—two other peoples of marked individuality. Can it be doubted that we Jews—aggregating 14,000,000 people—are "an extensive aggregate of persons;" that we are "conscious of a community of sentiments, experiences and qualities which make us feel ourselves a distinct people," whether we admit it or not?

It is no answer to this evidence of nationality to declare that the Jews are not an absolutely pure race. There has, of course, been some intermixture of foreign blood in the three thousand years which constitute our historic period. But, owing to persecution and prejudice, the intermarriages with non-Jews which occurred have resulted merely in taking away many from the Jewish community. Intermarriage has brought few additions. Therefore, the percentage of foreign blood in the Jews of to-day is very low. Probably no important European race is as pure.

But common race is only one of the elements which determine nationality. Conscious community of sentiments, common experiences, common qualities are equally, perhaps more, important. Religion, traditions and customs bound us together, though scattered throughout the world. The similarity of experiences tended to produce similarity of qualities and community of sentiments. Common suffering so intensified the feeling of brotherhood as to overcome largely all the influences making for diversification. The segregation of the Jews was so general, so complete, and so long continued as to intensify our "peculiarities" and make them almost ineradicable.

#### ASSERTION OF JEWISH NATIONALITY.

We recognize that with each child the aim of education should be to develop his own individuality, not to make him an imitator, not to assimilate him to others. Shall we fail to recognize this truth when applied to whole peoples? And what people in the world has shown greater individuality than the Jews? Has any a nobler past. Does any possess common ideas better worth expressing? Has any marked traits worthier of development? Of all the peoples in the world those of two tiny states stand preeminent as contributors to our present civilization—the Greeks and the Jews. The Jews gave to the world its three greatest religions, reverence for law, and the highest conceptions of morality. Never before has the value of our contribution been so generally recognized. Our teaching of brotherhood and righteousness has, under the name of democracy and social justice, become the twentieth century striving of America and of western Europe. Our conception of law is embodied in the American Constitution which proclaims this to be a "government of laws and not of men." And for the triumph of our other great teaching—the doctrine of peace—this cruel war is paving the way.

While every other people is striving for development by asserting its nationality and a great war is making clear the value of small nations, shall we voluntarily yield to anti-Semitism, and instead of solving our "problem" end it by ignoble suicide? Surely this is no time for Jews to despair. Let us make clear to the world that we, too, are a nationality striving for equal rights to life and to self-expression. That this should be our course has been recently expressed by high non-Jewish authority. Thus Seton-Watson, speaking of the probable results of the war, said:

"There are good grounds for hoping that it [the war] will also give a new and healthy impetus to Jewish national policy, grant freer play to their splendid qualities and enable them to shake off the false shame which has led men who ought to be proud of their Jewish race to assume so many alien disguises and to accuse of anti-Semitism those who refuse to be deceived by mere appearances. It is high time that the Jews should realize that few things do more to foster anti-Semitic feeling than this very tendency to sail under false colors and conceal their true identity. The Zionists and the orthodox Jewish nationalists have long ago won the respect and admiration of the world. No race has ever defied assimilation so stubbornly and so successfully, and the modern tendency of individual Jews to repudiate what is one of their chief glories suggests an almost comic resolve to fight against the course of nature."

#### ZIONISM.

Standing upon this broad foundation of nationality, Zionism aims to give it full development. Let us bear clearly in mind what Zionism is, or rather what it is not.

It is not a movement to remove all the Jews of the world compulsorily to Palestine. In the first place, there are 14,000,000 Jews, and Palestine would not accommodate more than one-third of that number. In the second place, it is not a movement to compel anyone to go to Palestine. It is essentially a movement to give to the Jew more, not less, freedom; it aims to enable the Jews to exercise the same right now exercised by practically every other people in the world—to live at their option either in the lands of their fathers or in some other country—a right which members of small nations as well as of large, which Irish, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, or Belgian may now exercise as fully as Germans or English.

Zionism seeks to establish in Palestine for such Jews as choose to go and remain there and for their descendants a legally secured home, where they may live together and lead a Jewish life, where they may expect ultimately to constitute a majority of the population and may look forward to what we should call home rule. The Zionists seek to establish this home in Palestine because they are convinced that the undying longing of Jews for Palestine is a fact of deepest significance; that it is a manifestation in the struggle for existence by an ancient people which have established their right to live—a people whose 3,000 years of civilization has produced a faith, culture, and individuality which enable them to contribute largely in the future, as they have in the past, to the advance of civilization, and that it is not a right merely but a duty of the Jewish nationality to survive and develop. They believe that there only can Jewish life be fully protected from the forces of disintegration; that there alone can Jewish spirit reach its full and natural development; and that by securing for those Jews who wish to settle in Palestine the opportunity to do so, not only those Jews but all other Jews will be benefited, and that the long-perplexing Jewish problem will at last find solution.

They believe that to accomplish this, it is not necessary that the Jewish population of Palestine be large as compared with the whole number of Jews in the world; for throughout centuries when the Jewish influence was greatest, during the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman Empires, only a relatively small part of the Jews lived in Palestine; and only a small part of the Jews returned from Babylon when the Temple was rebuilt.

Since the destruction of the temple, nearly 2,000 years ago, the longing for Palestine has been ever present with the Jew. It was the hope of a return to the land of his fathers that buoyed up the Jew amidst persecution, and for the realization of which the devout ever prayed. Until a generation ago this was a hope merely—a wish piously prayed for, but not worked for. The Zionist movement is idealistic, but it is also essentially practical. It seeks to realize that hope; to make the dream of a Jewish life in a Jewish land come true as other great dreams of the world have been realized—by men working with devo-

tion, intelligence, and self-sacrifice. It was thus that the dream of Italian independence and unity, after centuries of vain hope, came true through the efforts of Massini, Garibaldi, and Cavour; that the dream of Greek, of Bulgarian, and of Serbian independence became facts.

#### ZIONISM A FACT.

The rebirth of the Jewish nation is no longer a mere dream. It is in process of accomplishment in a most practical way, and the story is a wonderful one. A generation ago a few Jewish emigrants from Russia and from Rumania, instead of proceeding westward to this hospitable country, where they might easily have secured material prosperity, turned eastward for the purpose of settling in the land of their fathers.

To the worldly wise these efforts at colonization appeared very foolish. Nature and man presented obstacles in Palestine which appeared almost insuperable; and the colonists were in fact ill-equipped for their task, save in their spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. The land, harassed by centuries of misrule, was treeless and apparently sterile; and it was infested with malaria. The Government offered them no security, either as to life or property. The colonists themselves were not only unfamiliar with the character of the country, but were ignorant of the farmer's life which they purposed to lead; for the Jews of Russia and Rumania had been generally denied the opportunity of owning or working land. Furthermore, these colonists were not inured to the physical hardships to which the life of a pioneer is necessarily subjected. To these hardships and to malaria many succumbed. Those who survived were long confronted with failure. But at last success came. Within a generation these Jewish pilgrim fathers, and those who followed them, have succeeded in establishing these two fundamental propositions:

First. That Palestine is fit for the modern Jew.

Second. That the modern Jew is fit for Palestine.

Over 40 self-governing Jewish colonies attest to this remarkable achievement.

This land, treeless a generation ago, supposed to be sterile and hopelessly arid, has been shown to have been treeless and sterile only because of man's misrule. It has been shown to be capable of becoming again a land "flowing with milk and honey." Oranges and grapes, olives and almonds, wheat and other cereals are now growing there in profusion.

This material development has been attended by a spiritual and social development no less extraordinary; a development in education, in health, and in social order; and in the character and habits of the population. Perhaps the most extraordinary achievement of Jewish nationalism is the revival of the Hebrew language, which has again become a language of the common intercourse of men. The Hebrew tongue, called a dead language for nearly 2,000 years, has, in the Jewish colonies and in Jerusalem, become again the living mother tongue. The effect of this common language in unifying the Jews is, of course, great; for the Jews of Palestine came literally from all the lands of the earth, each speaking, excepting those who used Yiddish, the language of the country from which he came, and remaining in the main almost a stranger to the other Jews. But the effect of the renaissance of the Hebrew tongue is far greater than that of unifying the Jews. It is a potent factor in reviving the essentially Jewish spirit.

Our Jewish pilgrim fathers have laid the foundation. It remains for us to build the superstructure.

#### ZIONISM AND PATRIOTISM.

Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his State and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge. Every Irish American who contributed toward advancing home rule was a better man and a better American for the sacrifice he made. Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better man and a better American for doing so.

Note what Seton-Watson says:

"America is full of nationalities which, while accepting with enthusiasm their new American citizenship, nevertheless look to some center in the Old

World as the source and inspiration of their national culture and traditions. The most typical instance is the feeling of the American Jew for Palestine which may well become a focus for his declassé kinsmen in other parts of the world."

There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to Jewry. The Jewish spirit, the product of our religion and experiences, is essentially modern and essentially American. Not since the destruction of the temple have the Jews in spirit and in ideals been so fully in harmony with the noblest aspirations of the country in which they lived.

America's fundamental law seeks to make real the brotherhood of man. That brotherhood became the Jewish fundamental law more than twenty-five hundred years ago. America's insistent demand in the twentieth century is for social justice. That also has been the Jews' striving for ages. Their affliction, as well as their religion, has prepared the Jews for effective democracy. Persecution broadened their sympathies. It trained them in patient endurance, in self-control, and in sacrifice. It made them think as well as suffer. It deepened the passion for righteousness.

Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist. For only through the ennobling effect of its strivings can we develop the best that is in us and give to this country the full benefit of our great inheritance. The Jewish spirit, so long preserved, the character developed by so many centuries of sacrifice, should be preserved and developed further, so that in America as elsewhere the sons of the race may in future live lives and do deeds worthy of their ancestors.

#### WHAT AMERICA DEMANDS OF ITS JEWS.

But we have also an immediate and more pressing duty in the performance of which Zionism alone seems capable of affording effective aid. We must protect America and ourselves from demoralization, which has to some extent already set in among American Jews. The cause of this demoralization is clear. It results in large part from the fact that in our land of liberty all the restraints by which the Jews were protected in their Ghettos were removed and a new generation left without necessary moral and spiritual support. And is it not equally clear what the only possible remedy is? It is the laborious task of inculcating self-respect—a task which can be accomplished only by restoring the ties of the Jew to the noble past of his race, and by making him realize the possibilities of a no less glorious future. The sole bulwark against demoralization is to develop in each new generation of Jews in America the sense of "noblesse oblige." That spirit can be developed in those who regard their race as destined to live and to live with a bright future. That spirit can best be developed by actively participating in some way in furthering the ideals of the Jewish renaissance; and this can be done effectively only through furthering the Zionist movement.

In the Jewish colonies of Palestine there are no Jewish criminals; because everyone, old and young alike, is led to feel the glory of his race and his obligation to carry forward its ideals. The new Palestinian Jewry produces instead of criminals great scientists like Aaron Aaronsohn, the discoverer of wild wheat; great pedagogues like David Yellin; craftsmen like Boris Shatz, the founder of the Bezalel; intrepid Shom'rim, the Jewish guards of peace, who watch in the night against marauders and doers of violent deeds.

And the Zionist movement has brought like inspiration to the Jews in the Diaspora, as Steed has shown in this striking passage from "The Hapsburg Monarchy":

"To minds like these Zionism came with the force of an evangel. To be a Jew and to be proud of it; to glory in the power and pertinacity of the race, its traditions, its triumphs, its sufferings, its resistance to persecution; to look the world frankly in the face and to enjoy the luxury of moral and intellectual honesty; to feel pride in belonging to the people that gave Christendom its divinities, that taught half the world monotheism, whose ideas have permeated civilization as never the ideas of a race before it, whose genius fashioned the whole mechanism of modern commerce, and whose artists, actors, singers, and writers have filled a larger place in the cultured universe than those of any other people. This, or something like this, was the train of thought fired in youthful Jewish minds by the Zionist spark. Its effect upon the Jewish students of Austrian universities was immediate and striking. Until then they had been despised and often ill-treated. They had wormed their way into

appointments and into the free professions by dint of pliancy, mock humility, mental acuteness, and clandestine protection. If struck or spat upon by 'Aryan' students, they rarely ventured to return the blow or the insult. But Zionism gave them courage. They formed associations, and learned athletic drills and fencing. Insult was requited with insult, and presently the best fencers of the fighting German corps found that Zionist students could gash cheeks quite as effectually as any Teuton, and that the Jews were in a fair way to become the best swordsmen of the university. To-day the purple cap of the Zionist is as respected as that of any academical association.

"This moral influence of Zionism is not confined to university students. It is quite as noticeable among the mass of the younger Jews outside, who also find in it a reason to raise their heads, and, taking their stand upon the past, to gaze straightforwardly into the future."

#### OUR DUTY.

Since the Jewish problem is single and universal, the Jews of every country should strive for its solution. But the duty resting upon us of America is especially insistent. We number 3,000,000, which is more than one-fifth of all the Jews in the world—a number larger than that comprised within any other country, except the Russian Empire. We are representative of all the Jews in the world, for we are composed of immigrants, or descendants of immigrants coming from every other country or district. We include persons from every section of society, and of every shade of religious belief. We are ourselves free from civil or political disabilities and are relatively prosperous. Our fellow Americans are infused with a high and generous spirit, which insures approval of our struggle to ennoble, liberate, and otherwise improve the condition of an important part of the human race; and their innate manliness makes them sympathize particularly with our efforts at self-help. America's detachment from the Old World problem relieves us from suspicions and embarrassments frequently attending the activities of Jews of rival European countries. And a conflict between American interests or ambitions and Jewish aims is not conceivable. Our loyalty to America can never be questioned.

Let us therefore lead—earnestly, courageously, and joyously—in the struggle for liberation. Let us all recognize that we Jews are a distinct nationality, of which every Jew, whatever his country, his station, or shade of belief, is necessarily a member. Let us insist that the struggle for liberty shall not cease until equality of opportunity is accorded to nationalities as to individuals. Let us insist also that full equality of opportunity can not be obtained by Jews until we, like members of other nationalities, shall have the option of living elsewhere or of returning to the land of our forefathers.

#### ORGANIZATION.

The fulfillment of these aspirations is clearly demanded in the interest of mankind as well as in justice to the Jews. They can not fail of attainment if we are united and true to ourselves. But we must be united not only in spirit but in action. To this end we must organize. Organize, in the first place, so that the world may have proof of the extent and the intensity of our desire for liberty. Organize, in the second place, so that our resources may become known and be made available. But in mobilizing our forces it will not be for war. The whole world longs for the solution of the Jewish problem. We have but to lead the way and we may be sure of ample cooperation from non-Jews. In order to lead the way we need not arms, but men; men with those qualities for which Jews should be peculiarly fitted by reason of their religion and life; men of courage, of high intelligence, of faith and public spirit, of indomitable will and ready self-sacrifice; men who will both think and do, who will devote high abilities to shaping our course and to overcoming the many obstacles which must from time to time arise. And we need other—many, many other men—officers, commissioned and noncommissioned, and common soldiers in the cause of liberty, who will give of their time and resources, as occasion may demand, in unflinching and ever-strengthening support of the measures which may be adopted. Organization, thorough and complete, can alone develop such leaders and the necessary support.

Organize, organize, organize—until every Jew in America must stand up and be counted—counted with us, or prove himself, wittingly or unwittingly, of the few who are against their own people.



Mr. LIPSKY. Now, I just want to say a few words with regard to Professor Reed's observation that this resolution presented here by Congressman Fish is a trap. He used the word "trap" twice, but I think the committee will hardly agree with him in his attempt to read into this resolution something which is not in it.

The Fish resolution, which embodies all that is necessary for this purpose—

Mr. COOPER (interposing). That is 52?

Mr. LIPSKY. The joint resolution. The Zionist organization is not interested in the form of the resolution. We are interested in the intention of the resolution.

We hope that it is the intention of the committee, and that it will be the intention of the House and of the Senate to express both their sympathy and interest in the development of the Jewish national home in Palestine, or haven, or refuge, or whatever it may be, which will enable the Jewish people to establish in Palestine for themselves a place where they can develop without interference. That is all they ask.

Mr. COOPER. Is that this resolution?

Mr. LIPSKY. That is the resolution.

Mr. COOPER. You do not mean the Lodge resolution is the same thing. That is different, you know.

Mr. LIPSKY. The Lodge resolution is much stronger, much clearer, and I desire to direct your attention to that instrument which the committee desires to approve for our purpose, the Fish resolution, No. 52.

Mr. COOPER. You want the committee, if it considers anything, to consider the one that you are presenting; is that the idea?

Mr. LIPSKY. That is exactly it.

I say with regard to this resolution being a trap, with regard to the American Government going into foreign alliances without being conscious of it. The resolution was introduced in the Senate by the leader of the Republican Party, who was outstanding in his opposition to have the American Government enter into the Senate treaties. I think that he stands very strongly against foreign alliances. It is assumed that the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate would not introduce a resolution of this nature unless he had the assurance of the approval of the State Department, which is, we take it, carrying out the policy of the present administration with regard to foreign affairs.

I submit that the American administration knows what is involved, what is stated, and what is intended in the Lodge resolution. I am sure that the Fish resolution should have the approval of those who are familiar with foreign affairs, and of the members of the House and of the Senate regardless of party, because it expresses the sentiment without definitely stating the instrument to which approval is given.

In the nature of the circumstances the American Government will have to adjust itself to the conditions that are to be created within the territories that were formerly the Turkish Empire. The American Government has certain interests. It will have to come into contact with the British Government, or whoever is in possession, no doubt, to protect these interests. But a treaty with regard to this matter can not be regarded as an entangling alliance.

We submit that to express sympathy and interest in the endeavor to establish a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine is in line with the ideals of the American people, with the traditions of the American Government, and would be at this time a practical indication on the part of the American Government of its interest in having justice dealt out to the Jewish people.

Mr. COOPER. I think that is all.

Mr. LIPSKY. The Chairman agreed the first day that I should introduce into the record the statements of the various governments that have approved of the Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917.

Mr. COOPER. Well, just indicate those to the reporter.

(The indorsements referred to are printed in the record in full as follows:)

#### GOVERNMENT INDORSEMENTS OF JEWISH NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, AND OF THE BRITISH DECLARATION.

##### SERBIA.

The following letter, of December 27, 1917, from Milenko Vesnitch, the head of the recent Serbian mission to the United States, was sent to Capt. David

Albala, a veteran of the Serbian army, and forwarded by him to the Provisional Zionist committee:

SERBIAN WAR MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES.

DEAR CAPTAIN ALBALA: I wish to express to your Jewish brothers the sympathy of our Government and of our people for the just endeavor of resuscitating their beloved country in Palestine, which will enable them to take their place in the future society of nations, according to their numerous capacities and to their unquestioned right. We are sure that this will not only be to their own interest, but at the same time to that of the whole of humanity.

You know, dear Captain Albala, that there is no other nation in the world sympathizing with this plan more than Serbia. Do we not shed bitter tears on the rivers of Babylon, in sight of our beloved land, lost only a short time ago? How should we not participate in your clamors and sorrows, lasting ages and generations, especially when our countrymen of your origin and religion have fought for their Serbian fatherland as well as the best of our soldiers.

It will be a sad thing for us to see any of our Jewish fellow citizens leaving us to return to their promised land; but we shall console ourselves in the hope that they stand as brothers and leave with us a good part of their hearts, and that they will be the strongest tie between free Israel and Serbia.

Believe me, dear Captain Albala,

Very sincerely yours,

VESNITCH.

FRANCE.

The French Government made the following official declaration in favor of a Jewish State in Palestine in accord with the declaration to the same effect made by the British cabinet on November 2, 1917.

The Provisional Executive Committee for general Zionist affairs has been authorized, by M. Tardieu, the French high commissioner to the United States, to make public the following communication bearing on this subject:

[Message from Foreign Minister Pichon to M. Tardieu.]

FEBRUARY 12, 1918.

Having seen M. Sokolow (representative of the Zionist organizations), I authorized him to state that, as regards the question, our views were essentially the same as the views entertained by the British Government.

[Naval radio from the press bureau of the ministry of foreign affairs.]

M. Sokolow was received to-day by Mr. Stephen Pichon. M. Pichon was happy to reaffirm that the understanding is complete between the French and the British Governments concerning the question of the Jewish establishment in Palestine.

ITALY.

Through its ambassador at the Court of St. James, the Italian Government, on February 25, 1918, officially signified its approval of the English and French declarations in favor of the Zionist movement and of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. Mr. Nahum Sokolow, representative in London of the Zionist International Political Committee, received from Ambassador Imperiali the following formal statement of Italy's attitude of these questions:

"On the instructions of His Excellency Baron Sonnino, His Majesty's minister for foreign affairs, I have the honor to inform you that His Majesty's Government is pleased to confirm the declarations already made through their representatives in Washington, The Hague, and Salonica, to the effect that they will use their best endeavors to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish national center, it being understood that this shall not prejudice the legal or political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

GREECE.

On March 14, 1918, M. Politis, the Greek minister for foreign affairs, stated in the Chamber of Deputies:

"I have already had occasion in Salonica to express the very sincere sympathy of the Liberal Party and of all Hellenes for the Jewish nation, for 20 centuries the victim of misunderstandings and persecutions. I am glad to renew to-day the promise which I then gave that at the right moment the

154 ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE.

Liberal Government will put forth every effort to assist the national task of the Jews in full accord with the great allies of Greece. Apart from the motives of sympathy which we have had for the Jewish race, a new bond is now added. Among other points in common, the Jewish race and the Greek race have that of both belonging with those races which have ceased to be subjected to persecution. At this moment when Hellenism has been literally led to exhaustion by the barbarians of the East, I address with emotion to the Jewish race all my wishes for their establishment as a nation."

HOLLAND.

Mr. Jacobus Kann, president of the Dutch Zionist Federation, was authorized by the Dutch Government to declare that it is sympathetic toward Zionist aspirations.

SIAM.

The Zionist organization of America received the text of a statement issued by the Siamese Government expressing its approval of the plan to establish in Palestine a national homeland for the Jewish people. The statement was issued to Mr. E. S. Kadoorie, one of the leading bankers of China and president of the Shanghai Zionist Association, by H. R. H. Prince Devawongse Varopakar, Siamese minister for foreign affairs. It reads as follows:

FOREIGN OFFICE, *Bangkok, August 22, 1918.*

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to state that the Royal Siamese Government expresses its accord with the sympathetic position taken by its allies with reference to the establishment of Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people and, in cooperation with the allied powers, will use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing will be done that may prejudice the civil or religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

I am, very truly yours,

DEVAWONGSE.

CHINA.

The Zionist organization of America received a cablegram from Mr. E. S. Kadoorie, president, and N. E. B. Ezra, secretary of the Shanghai Zionist Association, informing it that on December 14, 1918, the Chinese Government had officially indorsed the project for establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The text of the Chinese indorsement is as follows:

"The Chinese Government expresses its complete accord with Great Britain's proposals for the restoration of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country, and will cooperate with her allies at the Peace Conference in the attaining of that object."

JAPAN.

The Government of Japan authorized its ambassador to Great Britain to announce its approval of the project to establish in Palestine a Jewish national homeland, in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917.

STATEMENT OF DR. FUAD I. SHATARA, 153 CLINTON STREET, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Doctor SHATARA. My occupation is surgeon.

Mr. COCKRAN. Were you born in this country?

Doctor SHATARA. No, sir, Palestine; but I am an American citizen and graduated from an American college.

Mr. MOORES. Columbia University?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir; but my father and mother and brother are in Palestine, and when I hear Mr. Goldberg speak about the miseries of the Jews throughout the world it reminded me of my father and mother suffering during the late war because of their proally sympathy. They were deported to Asia Minor and suffered a great deal, and we are willing to share with Mr. Goldberg some

of the miseries of the Jews of this country and elsewhere. It is nothing to compare with the miseries that the people went through within Palestine during the war and before the war under the oppression of the Turks. Is it any wonder, gentlemen, that we have not made any progress? Any native who dared express any liberal ideas was forced to evacuate and leave the country. Any foreigner who tried to accomplish something in Palestine was opposed by the heavy taxation which made it impossible to develop the land, and even up to the present date most of the Jewish colonies that Mr. Goldberg has mentioned were managed by Arab labor. Arab labor has created Jewish colonies, but I have seen in one of the Zionist reports on the Zionist colonies in Palestine in spite of the help from outside countries that they are up to this date not self-supporting. They demand outside subsidy.

Gentlemen, the word "Palestine" itself is taken from the word "Philistine." The Philistines were the arch enemies of the Jews. I am a Semite myself. I can not be accused of anti-Semitism at all. I can not be accused of being against the Jews, for several reasons. I have spoken to Jews themselves who are opposed to the Zionist movement. Do you know that when Lord Northcliffe recently visited Palestine a delegation of native Jews in Palestine went to Northcliffe and protested against the Zionists?

Hon. Henry Morgenthau, in World's Work in July, published a strong article against Zionism, in which he states it is the most stupendous failure in Jewish history, wrong in economics and in spiritual aspirations.

Recently Sir Stuart Samuel, brother of the high commissioner to Palestine, brother of Sir Herbert Samuel, in an interview published in the Daily Mail of February 18, makes out a case against Zionism and advises the Jews to keep out of Palestine because they say it means added trouble to them.

Mr. COCKRAN. Whom do you mean by they?

Doctor SHATARA. The Jews. Lots of Jews thought Palestine was a paradise and found things were otherwise when they go there. All that is a beautiful dream and vision, and I admit it is when you read it on paper, but applied in practice they find it far from what they have been led to believe it is.

Mr. FISH. I understand that you referred to Sir Stuart Samuel. He has denied that statement.

Doctor SHATARA. I have not seen the denials.

Mr. COOPER. Has that been officially denied?

Mr. LIPSKY. An interview published in a London newspaper attributed certain statements to Sir Stuart Samuel. Subsequently, Sir Stuart Samuel issued an official denial of that interview published in the same newspaper.

Doctor SHATARA. I have not seen the denial. I might also mention that a few years ago a Member of this House, Julius Kahn, came out against Zionism in 1918 or 1919. When President Wilson left for Europe a protest of Zionists was handed to him and signed by Jews only, among them Adolph Ochs, editor of the New York Times, the late Professor Jastrow, Julius Kahn, and several others. Gentlemen, you see the idea is this—

Mr. COCKRAN. Did Otto Kahn sign it?

Doctor SHATARA. Not Otto; Representative Julius Kahn. What I am trying to get at is this: This is Jewish. We are not against the Jews. The Jews before this Zionist movement lived with us in friendly and neighborly harmony, and we shared with them our rights and privileges in the land and our duties. The difference between our proposition and the Zionist proposition is that Palestine is a home for the Palestinians who have been in the land for 2,000 years, descended from the stock in Palestine before the Jews invaded, and they persisted long after the Jews ceased to be a nation. As Lloyd-George once said, there is a limit to the title of property; and, as one of the northern papers recently said, if one does not go back home for 2,000 years he can not expect to go back with a title over persons who are making Palestine a home—Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. We do not discriminate against anybody. The Zionist proposition is different. We maintain these people who have borne the oppression of Turkey for many years are now entitled to develop their home land and, in justice, they should be given a trial. They have never had a chance. Give them 10 years and try what they will do with help. Nobody could do anything under Turkey.

These colonists, most of them, had immunities which the natives—the farmers in Palestine—did not have, and consequently they thrive when the natives did not.

Mr. COCKRAN. What immunities? That is very important.

Doctor SHATARA. I can not specify the immunities, but during the Turks' régime capitulations, certain rights, concessions were granted foreigners of various organizations. They were allowed to have their own post offices, and they were exempted from taxation, or they were taxed very lightly, and there were other privileges.

Mr. COCKRAN. Those were not extended to Jews?

Doctor SHATARA. I think they were.

Mr. LIPSKY. No; these were the rights extended to foreign governments.

Doctor SHATARA. But these Jewish colonists were extended immunities because subsidized.

Mr. COCKRAN. Subsidized?

Doctor SHATARA. I mean also that they were given certain immunities.

Mr. COCKRAN. What were they? That is an important matter.

Doctor SHATARA. I think they were not taxed as heavily as the Palestinians.

Mr. COCKRAN. On what basis was the differentiation made?

Doctor SHATARA. On the basis that they were foreign colonists.

Mr. COCKRAN. That the Jews were foreign colonists?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. Was there a different kind of taxation for the foreign colonist from the native farmer?

Doctor SHATARA. I think so.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is a very important matter. That is a fact we can ascertain and have verified. Otherwise we can not consider a mere thought in the matter.

Doctor SHATARA. I can look it up.

Mr. COCKRAN. I hope you will.

Doctor SHATARA. A word about these massacres that Mr. Goldberg referred to. As you have seen, after the Jaffa massacre, which was one main riot, there was an official commission headed by Sir Thomas Haycraft appointed to investigate those riots. This commission was perfectly neutral, reported on all those riots, and that is the report from which the chairman has read. I might here state that these are some of the posters circulated there, to use a surgical term, as the exciting cause for these riots: "Long live the Communist Internationale; Long live the free women of the Communist Society; Down with the English usurper."

These posters were circulated in Palestine, and are the exciting or the immediate cause, as you choose to call it, for these main riots.

Mr. COCKRAN. You do not attribute this to the Jewish colonists?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. The men who had property themselves circulated these circulars against property?

Doctor SHATARA. I do not know about property. They were probably people conveyed into Palestine by Zionists.

Mr. COCKRAN. What proof have you that they were Zionists?

Doctor SHATARA. This was established by the Thomas Haycraft commission.

Mr. COCKRAN. How does he do it?

Dr. SHATARA. This is an official report.

Mr. FISH. One would think you assumed the Arabs were trying to protect the British and the conflict between the Arabs and Jews was the result of trying to protect the British. Is that what you try to make out against the Jewish colonists?

Doctor SHATARA. No; but those things were irritating to the Arabs and started the riots, and, as Mr. Goldberg began to say, there was a fight among the Jews themselves at first.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Goldberg says these were circulated by Bolsheviks—50 in all—and the impression was that they had been sent there for that express purpose.

Doctor SHATARA. I do not know that he can substantiate it.

Mr. COOPER. Do you think the Jew, the owner of private property and proverbially a believer in private property, would circulate any law that would destroy private property?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. Do you believe in Mr. Goldberg's explanation, or do you believe that private owners of property would circulate communist circulars?

Doctor SHATARA. I do not think the Zionist colonies are mainly private property. I think they are mainly owned by or the plan is to have them sort of State property. I do not think it is a private-property plan.

Mr. COCKRAN. Then what would you think would be the use of issuing circulars against a plan of which they were a part; that they would circulate those incendiary documents inciting violence against the system of which they were themselves part?

The CHAIRMAN. A paragraph in this report will give you the facts. I will read it into the record, because we do not want to print the whole report. It reads as follows:

"During October and the beginning of November, 1920, there were outbreaks of labor trouble among the Jews in Jaffa. There was at this time a considerable amount of unemployment among recently arrived immigrants, and the M. P. S., who were able to work upon the feelings of these dissatisfied men, aggravated the trouble where they did not originate it."

Who are the M. P. S.?

Dr. SHATARA. The Socialist Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

"who were able to work upon the feelings of these dissatisfied men, aggravated the trouble where they did not originate it. On the 7th of November the M. P. S. had become so emboldened that they placarded Jaffa and Tel Aviv with illegally printed posters in which they called upon all laborers in Palestine to take part in social revolution, to have nothing more to do with 'the slaves of the British bayonet,' and to celebrate the 7th of November, the anniversary of the establishment of soviet rule in Russia, with a half day's abstention from work. The poster ended with the following sentiments."

Substantially as quoted by the witness.

Dr. SHATARA. About the question of whether Zionism would trespass upon the rights of Palestinians or not—

Mr. KENNEDY (interposing). Have you been in Palestine recently?

Dr. SHATARA. I have been in this country since 1914.

Mr. KENNEDY. Not in Palestine since then?

Dr. SHATARA. No, sir. But we get these reports constantly from Palestine and I might mention that we have now in London a delegation of native Palestinians who have been protesting to the British Government against the Balfour declaration, and I might say that sentiment in England is greatly changing in our favor. Several members of the House of Commons and of the British Government who previously had come out in favor of the Balfour declaration are coming out against it now, and I might say that it has been urged in England now to send a committee to make an impartial inquiry regarding Palestine. Neither the British Parliament nor the French Senate have as yet ratified the Balfour declaration which is included in the mandate. I have here a cable from a French Senator, Senator Dominique Delahaye, that they are opposed to a mandate which ignores France, and I really am surprised that the United States, which has kept aloof from foreign entanglements should take this step in indorsing the Balfour declaration, and demanding steps that neither Great Britain, nor France, nor the League of Nations has yet taken. They are waiting, maybe, to send a committee of inquiry into the conditions before the Parliament takes this matter up, and if the United States Congress goes on record as indorsing this, they would have taken steps which neither the British nor the French have as yet taken.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Doctor SHATARA. I would also, while talking on this point, mention that during the Wilson administration—

Mr. COOPER (interposing). Did not the English Government in substance approve the Balfour declaration at the time it was issued?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. And they approved it in the darkest hour of the war for the British Government.

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. So the British Government did approve the Balfour declaration. You said a moment ago that neither the British nor the French Government approved it.

Doctor SHATARA. May I finish that?

Mr. COOPER. Did not the British Government when the Balfour declaration was issued approve it?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. They did it in the darkest days of the war?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. Now, after the Jews of the world relied upon that and many of them entered the war, many of them were killed in battle. Now, they propose to repudiate what they promised in the dark days of the war. Is that the idea?

Doctor SHATARA. May I answer that?

Mr. COOPER. That is one of the suggestions that comes to me as I heard the statement.

Doctor SHATARA. I did not say the British Government. I said the British Parliament. I distinguish between the British Government and that. The coalition government is not in full sympathy with Parliament, and the Parliament and the British Government are two entirely different bodies.

Mr. COCKRAN. No.

Mr. COOPER. I thought on the contrary, that if the British Parliament did not sustain the policies of the Government, the Government immediately resigned.

Doctor SHATARA. I think this is a matter of record that the British Parliament has not yet ratified the mandate or the Balfour declaration, the same as the French senate. As regards this promise being given in the dark days of the war, I can do no better than to quote Sir Abraham Powell published in the London Times of December, in which he said that he did not regard the Balfour declaration as a contract, that he thought that many people thought that it was a contract, but that since all contracts were bilateral, the public, the British public were entitled to know for what value received the Balfour declaration was given if it was a contract, and every contract was bilateral and if the British Government gave them a pledge for their value received.

Mr. COOPER. Did they have a contract with Egypt when they returned Egypt if she put her soldiers in to protect the Suez Canal, made by many of their most prominent men, including the King himself in a letter. Was that a promise which the British Government ought to keep when the peace had been declared as they have kept it, and established a kingdom in Egypt. Do you think that was what they ought to do in the case of Egypt.

Doctor SHATARA. I am not prepared to speak about that.

Mr. COOPER. They gave Egypt no more of a promise than the Palestinians.

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir; but I might also mention that there were promises made in regard to Palestine, which I can quote both prior to and after the Balfour declaration.

Mr. COCKRAN. What were they?

Doctor SHATARA. I will read them from the Edinburgh Review of January, 1922, volume 235, No. 479, page 7, from an article written by Vivian Gabriel, financial secretary in Palestine, as follows:

Mr. COCKRAN. Is that an official document?

Doctor SHATARA. No, sir; but he quotes an official document.

Mr. COCKRAN. Tell us the official document.

Doctor SHATARA. I am quoting the official document from this.

"It was at a very early stage of the hostilities that special efforts were initiated to detach the Arab population from its suzerains, the Turks, and, largely through the instrumentality of Lord Kitchener, who knew Palestine and Syria as no other living Englishman, negotiations were opened with his friend, Sherif Husain of Mecca. In a letter to the high commissioner in Egypt in July, 1915, the sheriff asked, before taking up arms for the Allies."

That was two years before the Balfour declaration.

Mr. COCKRAN. Which is an official document.

Doctor SHATARA. What I am reading now is quoted from an official document.

Mr. COCKRAN. What official document?

Doctor SHATARA. A letter from the Sherif to the British high commission, Henry McMahon—

"That England should acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries bounded on the north by Adana and Mersina up to the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, on the east by the frontiers of Persia up to the Persian Gulf, on the south by the Indian Ocean with the exception of Aden, and on the west by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean up to Mersina."

"Replying in October, 1915, the high commissioner wrote:

"I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances: Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sherif."

Palestine is included in these limits proposed by the Sherif. There was another statement issued that those boundaries that are given here include Palestine.

Mr. COOPER. He says he is authorized by the English Government. Is there an official document which was official authorization there?

Doctor SHATARA. This is just quoted from the document.

Mr. COOPER. It is not even quoted. He says he is authorized, but does not quote the authorization.

Doctor SHATARA. There are two quotations. This is a quotation from Sir Henry McMahon:

"Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sherif."

This is from the letter.

Mr. COOPER. This is from the letter. He was an official in Palestine?

Doctor SHATARA. In Egypt.

Mr. COOPER. Exactly. But he was not authorized himself.

Doctor SHATARA. No; he was empowered by the Government of Great Britain to issue this.

Mr. COOPER. Where in that article, if anywhere, appears the Government document it quotes from or quotations from it?

Doctor SHATARA. There are quotations here.

Mr. COOPER. This is an English official in Egypt.

Doctor SHATARA. There is another quotation. He wrote and he also quoted from a letter.

Mr. COOPER. Your impetuosity has got the better of your clearness.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Now, you want to interject all these questions, when before you suggested for a statement to proceed without interruption.

Mr. COOPER. The gentleman from Maryland is entirely mistaken in that; nothing of the kind. What I said was this, that when a man is making a prepared speech the interruptions should be germane to the point which he is making a speech upon or discussing. I interrupted yesterday two or three times, but each time I questioned the witness on a point which he brought out? I did not intend to interrupt except to ask questions concerning a particular point which he then was discussing, and if this is to make it appear anything else it indicates a lapse of memory or I will not say what else.

Mr. LINTHICUM. I think we ought to let him finish his quotation.

The CHAIRMAN. The difficulty is this.

Mr. COOPER. The gentleman does not understand my questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is not a lawyer, and therefore does not realize the importance of some authorization to this British agent to make this agreement. As a matter of fact, I suppose you did not have any such written authorization to this British agent? That is the point of Mr. Cooper.

Mr. COOPER. Yes.

Doctor SHATARA. This is a quotation from that.

Mr. COOPER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no way of proving it.

Doctor SHATARA. Yes.

Mr. MOORES. He not only says it but undertakes to quote from his authority. That drew Mr. Cooper's attention to the point of the authority quoted in his letter.

Mr. COOPER. Let us see. I want to get this clearly before the witness. I was not attempting to take any advantage of the witness at all. He did not seem to understand what I mean. In a letter to the high commissioner of Egypt, in July, 1915, the sherif asked:

"Before taking up arms for the Allies," now comes the inside quotation:

"That England should acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries bounded on the north by Adana and Mersina up to the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, on the east by the frontiers of Persia up to the Persian Gulf, on the south by the Indian Ocean with the exception of Aden, and on the west by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean up to Mersina."

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. The article continues—this was the article in October, 1915, that the high commissioner wrote:

I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances:

Doctor SHATARA (interposing). There is a colon and a dash.



Mr. COOPER. It is quoted. It is a colon and a dash, but no quotation.

Mr. COCKRAN. Equivalent to it.

Mr. COOPER. I will read it.

"Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sheriff."

He says, "I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances." He expresses it from the same document which he has received as empowering him to give those assurances. Where is the document of authorization from the Government signed by the Government officially authorizing him, the high commissioner, to make those assurances?

The CHAIRMAN. The witness says he knows of no such document.

Mr. MOORES. The high commissioner is certainly authority.

Doctor SHATARA. I have no such document at all.

Mr. COCKRAN. It seems to me the question before us is what the equity of this situation demands. I do not think it is very important what England promised. It is what we should do that should concern us. I think it is important that this gentleman should finish and give us his idea of the status of Jerusalem and Palestine.

Mr. FISH. I think so, too; but we want to be fair to the witness, and the witness wants to be fair to the authorities. He mentions, and I think in writing, his denial of that statement. That is what has brought about this argument. I think it is much better to let him present his case.

The CHAIRMAN. I was speaking only for myself. I regard this as a valuable piece of testimony.

Mr. COOPER. One thing more, and then this ends it as far as I am concerned. The high commissioner wrote the sheriff that he was empowered by the Government to make certain assurances. That is his interpretation of the authority which has been granted. I want to see the document which he so interpreted that gives him the authority to make those assurances.

The CHAIRMAN. We would all like to see it, but the witness is not able to produce it.

Mr. COOPER. He did not catch my idea.

Doctor SHATARA. I have not any official document at all. May I just read one more quotation? I have no official documents here at all. This is on the 7th of November. It is on page 12 of the Edinburgh Review, from which I have already quoted. I will read it:

"On the 7th of November, 1918, therefore, the British Government issued a proclamation, which was published in every village throughout Palestine, declaring that the object of England and France 'in carrying on in the Near East the war let loose by Germany's ambition is to assure the complete and final liberation of the people so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the native populations. They are far from wishing to impose any form of government on the people against their will and only desire to insure, by their moral and material assistance, the proper working of those governments and of the forms of administration which shall be adopted by the people themselves. Their task in the liberated regions is to secure an administration of justice based on impartiality and equality, the economic development of the country by encouraging and promoting local initiative, the spread of education, and the termination of those internal dissensions which have so long been exploited by the Turks.'"

The question of preference in Palestine I can do no better than to quote from the Zionist leader, Doctor Eder, who is acting chairman of the Zionist commission in Jerusalem. This is a quotation from Dr. Eder:

"There can only be one national home in Palestine, and that the Jewish one, and no equality, no partnership, between Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish predominance, as soon as the numbers of that race are sufficiently increased."

This statement was by Doctor Eder, chairman of the Zionist Commission in Jerusalem. I could go ahead and say a whole lot about what we think about the question of preference in Palestine, but those words are from Doctor Eder, and Doctor Weizmann said he wanted to make Palestine as Jewish as England is English. There can be no question of equality there if Palestine is to be made as Jewish as England is English. Palestine is only a small part of the world. According to the estimates it has about 10,000 square miles.

Mr. FISH. What would be the objection? Suppose the Jews came in and by their efforts brought wealth to the country. I assume that in England all

people are equals, that I as an American may live and have property there which would be protected in England, and I do not see that if it became a Jewish state, and the Jews became a majority that they would not take care of the Arabs and give them the same right to hold property and live in peace with the rest of the community.

Doctor SHATARA. Doctor Eder states that if the Jews are to become predominant there will be no equality between the Arabs and the Jews.

Mr. COCKRAN. When their numbers predominate.

Doctor SHATARA. We are a majority now, but we do not want any people to come into Palestine and become a majority. This is our national home, the national home of the Palestinians, and I think those people are entitled to priority as the national home of the Palestinians and not aliens who have come in and have gradually become a majority.

Mr. COCKRAN. Suppose they do come in. You do not object to them coming in and buying land and settling.

Doctor SHATARA. I would summarize the demands of the Arab delegation in London. They have touched upon that point.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is an important point.

Doctor SHATARA. I have here some demands submitted to the British Government and I will summarize them. Palestine has about twice as many people per square mile as has the United States. This summary shows that no country has more people per square mile than Palestine and there is more justification for admitting immigration into this country and into Texas than admitting immigration into Palestine, because the Palestinians are there, and Palestine is pretty well populated.

Mr. COCKRAN. Carrying that out, the Indians would have the right to object to the coming here of the whites.

Doctor SHATARA. If you carry that out, you will notice you will allow the Arab to claim Spain.

Mr. COCKRAN. Let us have the report.

Doctor SHATARA. Those demands have been submitted by the Palestine Arab delegation in London. The Arab people of Palestine ask, first, that a national government shall be created that will be responsible to a parliament elected by those inhabitants of Palestine who live there—Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews. Second, the abolition of the present policy in Palestine to regulate the immigration, which is to be controlled by this national government according to the capacity of the country to support new immigrants. Those people say, "We are judges of the capacity of our country. It is for us to say who we shall admit and refuse from coming into our country."

The CHAIRMAN. Applying the same rule that the United States applies?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir. The majority want to have a say in the question of immigration, and I do not think anybody would deny that.

Third, the holy places for all religions to be left to the entire control of present guardians, but no national parliament or any other authority be allowed to effect any changes therein.

Fourth, that a local gendarmerie be created for policing purposes, the expenses of this body to be met by the Palestine government. This would save the British taxpayer the huge amount he is now expending on the country.

They finally asked:

"Let Parliament send out a commission to Palestine to inquire into the question and report."

They are willing to abide by the report of any neutral commission to the country reporting about Palestine. We are all willing to abide by the report of a neutral commission into the affairs of Palestine prior to settling this question, and I would again urge that you gentlemen look over the report of the commission which was sent there.

Mr. FISH. Do you belong to any organization? Do you represent any organization?

Doctor SHATARA. I represent the Palestine National League.

Mr. FISH. Did you say you had a telegram from a French senator?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. FISH. In reply to some communication you sent to him?

Doctor SHATARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. FISH. You have been in touch with the French ambassador? Did you send any telegram to any other senators?

Doctor SHATARA. In France?

Mr. FISH. Yes.

Doctor SHATARA. No.

Mr. FISH. This is the only French senator you have any connection with?

Doctor SHATARA. But our delegation in London is in touch with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you desire the telegram placed in the record?

Mr. FISH. Yes, sir.

Doctor SHATARA. I will read the telegram.

PARIS 20,

PALESTINE NATIONAL LEAGUE,

85 Washington Street New York:

Mes amis senateurs tres opposes mandat anglais Palestine qui lese France.

DOMINIQUE DELAHAYE.

Mr. LINTHICUM. Read the interpretation of it.

Mr. COCKRAN. "Qui lese France" means dishonors or slights France.

Dr. SHATARA. Translated it would be:

"My friends the senators of France are very much opposed to the English mandate over Palestine which slights France."

Mr. COCKRAN. "Qui lese France" means slights France.

Dr. SHATARA. Yes.

Mr. FISH. It might be of interest to the committee to know that France has a mandate already over Syria and there is some friction there. France is somewhat jealous of England having a mandate over Palestine and it is supposed that some of this opposition to this very proposition emanates from French sources.

Mr. LINTHICUM. You brought out a difference between the Government issuing the Balfour declaration and the same not having been approved by the British Parliament. Is it necessary that the Balfour declaration be approved by Parliament?

Mr. COCKRAN. There is no relation between the British Government and the Parliament so far as foreign affairs are concerned. Treaties are made and submitted to the Parliament and they can overthrow the Government, but the treaties are made by the Government.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The treaties are made and submitted by the Government.

Mr. COCKRAN. Merely as a protection to prevent them from being thrown out of office.

Mr. LINTHICUM. That was undertaken?

Mr. COCKRAN. It is not necessary that they should do it.

Dr. SHATARA. They had a conference on the 9th of March and I understand this is going to be submitted as was the Balfour declaration and mandate, there being a demand throughout Parliament that it be submitted.

Mr. COCKRAN. They will have to submit it and defend it but that does not affect the validity of the mandate or the validity of the act itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Dr. SHATARA. There is just one point. In one of the articles of the League of Nations it says that any member who undertook to perform an agreement prior to becoming a member of the League of Nations shall, on becoming a member of the League of Nations, annul that agreement and leave it to the League of Nations. The Balfour declaration was made prior to the time that Great Britain was a member of the League of Nations. Article XXII of the League of Nations guarantees to the people of Palestine the right to determine their own future and to regulate their own immigration.

Mr. COOPER. Would not the giving of a mandate to England by the conference promote the Balfour declaration?

Doctor SHATARA. Not necessarily.

Mr. COOPER. But they did.

Doctor SHATARA. At the present time; yes, sir.

Mr. COOPER. So, then, even if the Versailles treaty did not obligate England to it, she had already ratified it.

Doctor SHATARA. No. I have a statement here which I want to leave for the record.

Mr. COOPER. I will ask the gentleman one question which he was discussing as he closes. As I recall, attention has been called to the fact that the Versailles treaty obligated any of its signatories who had entered into an agreement prior to the treaty—

Doctor SHATARA. Of the League of Nations.

Mr. COOPER. Of the League of Nations to annul any such agreement. That might be so construed as to require England to annul the Balfour declaration;

but the powers that signed that issued a mandate to England; therefore the mandate is simply confirmed.

Doctor SHATARA. The mandate has not been ratified by the League of Nations yet, and they expect on the 25th of April it will come up for discussion.

Mr. COOPER. The mandate was issued to England.

Doctor SHATARA. But not ratified yet.

Mr. COOPER. I know it has not been ratified; but in so far as issuing the mandate is concerned, that affirms the Balfour declaration.

Mr. REED. There is another native Palestinian here, a law student.

(Additional statement of Doctor Shatara is as follows:)

We, the members of the Palestine National League, Americans by naturalization and Palestinians by birth, respectfully beg to submit for your consideration on behalf of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine some important facts concerning the country of our birth which we believe have not been generally recognized, and which, in our opinion, ought to be given careful consideration when the status and disposition of that country come up for final settlement.

While we recognize that the United States has not and probably never will enter the League of Nations, we feel that for several valid reasons our Government will and should have her wishes considered in the final disposition of the status of Palestine. This is borne out by more than one statement issued by the State Department regarding the interest of the United States, the principal associated power, in the disposition of the territory which once formed the Turkish Empire. Palestine is specifically mentioned in these statements.

Moreover, Palestine is the Holy Land to Christian America, and as ex-Commissioner John Finley stated after his return from Palestine, it is too precious to revert to the followers of one creed or religion. Similar opinions have been expressed by the late Pope, by Cardinal Mercier, by Cardinal Bourne, by Bishop McInnes, Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, by the Rev. Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, by the Reverend Doctor Peters, by the Rev. Abraham M. Rihbany, and by others.

Furthermore, we believe that the principle of safeguarding right against might, for which the United States entered the war, has been trampled upon by the giving of what is known as the Balfour promise, upon which the Zionists base their hopes.

It is needless to submit in detail the arguments against Zionism, which are numerous and valid, but a few salient facts should be emphasized. It is the common impression in America that Palestine is a Jewish country, but nothing is further from the truth. There are about 70,000 Jews in Palestine, about 7 per cent of the existing population and about 5 per cent of the number of Jews in New York City. The overwhelming majority of Palestinians are uncompromisingly opposed to Zionism and the orthodox Jews of Palestine look with disfavor upon the Zionist movement. Palestine is a land of shrines sacred to Christians and Mohammedans. The Jews have little more than a few colonies which are still maintained by charitable support of Jews in Europe and America.

Historically Palestine was under Jewish rule from David's time to the fall of Samaria, under Shalmanezar III in 722 B. C., or, roughly, 250 years. After that the Jews regained independence only under the restless rule of the Maccabees, which lasted less than a century. On the other hand, the present inhabitants of the land are descended from a stock which goes back to the time before the Jews invaded the country and have remained in it long after the Jews ceased to be a nation, a period of about 2,000 years. To use the argument of Lloyd-George, "there is a limit to the title of property." Commenting on this, the London Morning Post of March 3, 1922, states:

"An Enoch Arden who has been away from home for 2,000 years does not come back with a title which the present possessor could be expected to recognize as overriding his own."

Furthermore, the Jews never occupied all Palestine, and the very name is taken from the Philistines, the arch enemies of the Jews. To turn over a country to a people who occupied it for about 350 years and ignore the wishes of the people who have lived in it for about 2,000 years is not only unjust but sets a dangerous precedent.

The claim that the Zionists will make an oasis out of barren Palestine is both erroneous and misleading. Palestine has more than 70 inhabitants per square mile, whereas the United States, with its rich natural resources, has

only about 35 per square mile. There is more justification for admitting the overcrowded Japanese to colonize Texas. The Jew is not, instinctively, a farmer, and the Zionist colonies in Palestine were mostly built by non-Jewish labor. These colonies, which enjoyed special immunities and privileges under Turkish rule, when the Palestinian farmer was subjected to every form of oppression and suppression, are still not self-supporting, and, unaided by outside subsidy, would cease to exist. Palestinians are not as backward as Zionists portray them. They are entitled to a chance to build their own homeland under a just and helpful administration. The claims for any other homeland can not be countenanced, and Palestine, which is smaller than Maryland, is too small for an imperium in imperio. Col. Vivian Gabriel, who was financial secretary in Palestine, says of Palestinians:

"All these elements have conspired to form a type that is as refined and beautiful as it is intellectually intelligent."

Prof. Albert Clay, of Yale University, corroborates this.

The Zionists claim that they wish to try out an experiment in Palestine; but as Father Reginald Ginns, O. P., stated after a personal study of the situation, "There is no objection to experiments, safe or dangerous, provided they are made with the property of the experimenter." The events of the last three years, such as the riots, Bolshevik propaganda, and smuggling of arms by Zionists, have clearly demonstrated this experiment to be a miserable failure, thus confirming what the Hon. Henry Morgenthau wrote of Zionism in last July's *World's Work*:

"I assert that Zionism is wrong in principle and impossible of realization; that it is unsound in its economics, fantastical in its politics, and sterile in its spiritual ideals."

Sir Stuart Samuel, president of the board of deputies of British Jews and brother of the high commissioner of Palestine, in an interview published in the *Daily Mail* of February 18, 1922, expresses his belief that Zionism must fail and advises Jews to "keep out of Palestine."

The latest statistics published show that out of a Jewish population of three and a half million in the United States only less than 150,000 are Zionists.

Lord Northcliffe, who a few months ago visited Palestine, has denounced Zionism and recommended that immigration be immediately stopped. The *British Press*, which once favored Zionism, now recognizes its impossibility and dangers. Leaders of English thought have similarly changed their attitude.

It may be remembered that before President Wilson sailed to Versailles a petition against Zionism was submitted to him by a group of prominent American Jews. Such men as the Hon. Julius Kahn, the Hon. Simon Rosendale, the Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Adolph Ochs, editor of the *New York Times*, were among those who signed this petition.

The "Balfour promise," the corner stone of Zionism, is illegal, unprecedented, and incompatible with other valid promises given in regard to Palestine both preceding and following it. This promise, which was wrung out of the necessities of Great Britain in the darkest days of the war, was dictated by Zionist leaders and issued by the British foreign office on November 7, 1917, prior to the occupation of Palestine and without the knowledge or consent of Palestinians. Early in the war special efforts were initiated to detach the Arab population from its suzerains the Turks. Negotiations were opened with Lord Kitchener's friend, Shereef Hussein of Mecca. In a letter to Sir H. McMahon, high commissioner in Egypt, in July, 1915, the Shereef asked, before taking up arms for the Allies, "that England should acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries bounded on the north by Adana and Mersina up to the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, on the east by the frontiers of Persia up to the Persian Gulf, on the south by the Indian Ocean, with the exception of Aden, and on the west by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean up to Mersina. Palestine is within these boundaries."

Replying in October, 1915, the high commissioner wrote:

"I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances: 'Great Britain is prepared to recognize the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Shereef.'"

The active military support which the Arabs gave to the Allies, and the passive resistance of the civil population of Palestine, of which Gen. Liman von Sanders complained, greatly contributed to the victory over the Turks in Palestine and the Near East. It may be remembered that Jerusalem was captured without firing a single gun.

The pronouncement of the "Balfour promise" was to the Palestinians a bolt from the blue. They had hailed Great Britain as their liberator, had trusted her promises, but found that she had bartered their homeland without their knowledge or consent. Feeling in Palestine was aroused to the highest pitch, and this caused so much embarrassment to the Palestine administration that on November 7, 1918, one year after the "Balfour promise," the British and French Governments issued a proclamation, which was circulated in every town and village in Palestine and Syria, declaring that the object of England and France—

"In carrying on in the Near East the war let loose by Germany's ambitions is to assure the complete and final liberation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the native populations. They are far from wishing to impose any form of government on the people against their will and only desire to insure, by their moral and material assistance, the proper working of those governments and the forms of administration which shall be adopted by the people themselves."

That many French senators still remember and try to respect this proclamation is shown by the following cable received from Senor Dominique Delahaye in answer to an inquiry by our league:

PARIS, February 28, 1922.

PALESTINE NATIONAL LEAGUE,

New York City:

Mes amis senateurs tres opposes mandat anglais Palestine qui lese France.

DOMINIQUE DELAHAYE.

Again, it may be pointed out that when in 1917 the Hon. Henry Morgenthau secured the promise of cooperation from Mr. Balfour to detach Turkey from her Teutonic allies, and thus open up the gateway to the Bosphorus and end the war, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, wrecked this scheme because no provision was made for Zionist ambitions, thus prolonging the war in order to attain his selfish ends. The details of this significant incident were published by Mr. Jewett in *Current History*.

Just why the British Government is anxious to keep the "Balfour promise" and break its other prior and later promises; just why she is willing to spend over \$20,000,000 annually to maintain a British garrison of 7,000, whose bayonets alone support the policy of Zionism, when the much-maligned Turk kept Palestine in order with a force of 400 men, can only be ascribed to the powerful pressure by Zionist leaders. Palestinians are already beginning to think that if they could use force the British Government might respect her promises to them. This may be a dangerous but, indeed, a logical conclusion.

On March 2, 1922, the National Political League of England held a meeting at the Hyde Park Hotel, London, to hear the case of the Palestine Arab delegation, now in London. Mr. Shibly Jamal, the honorary secretary of the delegation, said:

"No valid argument of history or of religious sentiment could support the Zionist case; the only thing that could be put forward in support of that case is the "Balfour promise," which was made in ignorance of the facts. It is the right thing for a gentleman when he makes a mistake in undertaking what is wrong to acknowledge his fault frankly and withdraw. Let the British nation follow the gentleman's way in the matter of the "Balfour declaration."

Finally, we wish to point out that Zionism has been a vehicle for conveying Bolshevism to the Holy Land, from which it is to be spread throughout the East. This is borne out by the official report of the commission which, under Sir Thomas Haycraft, investigated the riots which occurred in Jaffa in May, 1921. The following are extracts from posters and handbills circulated by Bolshevik Jews prior to the May riots:

"We call you to war against your rich people. Unite with the Russian nation. Leave your work to-day and go out in the streets and acclaim under the red flag. Long live the third international. Long live the social revolution. Long live soviet Palestine."

The Arabs resented this propaganda, and the riots ensued.

In conclusion, we respectfully submit the following requests for your consideration:

1. That a thorough and impartial investigation be made of the situation in Palestine. No impartial investigation has ever hurt a just cause.

2. That the report of the Crane-King Commission be published.

3. That the United States should maintain that the principles for which this country entered the war should be inviolate by the Allies, and that no power should be given a mandate to carry out a policy distasteful to the people of the governed country.

On behalf of the Palestine National League.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name, address, and occupation.

**STATEMENT OF MR. SELIM TOTAH, 1214 FOURTEENTH STREET NW.**

Mr. TOTAH. Gentlemen, there was a statement made before you that Palestine was desolate.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation?

Mr. TOTAH. I am a law student.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. BROWNE. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir. I have lived over there. My people and my father and mother are there. My brother is a school-teacher there, and, as far as I know of that country, there are several thriving cities, one Jaffa, with a population of 65,000; Haifa, 75,000 people; Jerusalem, 100,000; Lud, 25,000; Ramleh, 25,000; and many other thriving cities. I come from a town of 10,000 people, 10 young of which are graduates of American universities in this country who are there, one teaching school and one engaged in engineering. One is a lawyer; another a judge. My own brother is teaching school, being a graduate of Columbia University.

As to the products of the country, it is not desolate. The people there are very hard working people. The best figs in the world are raised in Palestine. The best raisins are raised there. It is one of the best countries in the world. The land is not desolate. The Jordan Valley, which is flooded and fertilized, raises some of the best crops of wheat in the world. The British Government, if not hampered by the Zionists, is trying to introduce cotton there as in Egypt. The land is not desolate. The natives cultivated the land there. We have intelligent, law-abiding people and can develop the country if given a chance. We were never given a chance. Under the Turkish régime no people were given a chance. Now, since we have this opportunity to develop ourselves, there come the Zionists to deprive us of the first instance where we have a chance to assert ourselves and see what we can do, if left unhampered.

Mr. FISH. What proportion of the people there can read and write, outside of the Jewish element?

Mr. TOTAH. The Jewish element is only 7 per cent.

Mr. FISH. My question was, What proportion of the inhabitants of Palestine can read and write?

Mr. TOTAH. I can not give you the exact statistics. My own brother is engaged in education, and he says about 15 per cent are educated in high school and that probably 35 per cent are illiterates.

Mr. FISH. Thirty-five per cent are illiterates in the country?

Mr. TOTAH. I will not say exactly. That is approximate.

Mr. FISH. Other people have put it very much higher.

Mr. TOTAH. What is your figure?

Mr. FISH. Over 60 per cent.

Mr. TOTAH. How do you get those figures?

Mr. FISH. From people who have been to Palestine.

Mr. TOTAH. I can not give the exact figures. If I did, I might say 35 per cent. There are two American high schools in my home town, one for girls and the other for men, financed by the people there and by aid from American Quakers. There is also a college run by the English in Jerusalem for the last 50 years. The progress accomplished in Palestine in 30 years by English and American missionaries has been wonderful. The English college in Jerusalem has an A. B. degree equivalent to that of the American universities. This is an instance of the progress.

The Zionists may tell you that the Palestinians are stupid and uncivilized. I just want to quote a word or two from Lord Cromer, once High Commissioner in Egypt.

The British Government had to employ people of that country who speak both the English and the Arabic language, as they did not find educated men in Egypt

to help them in the administration, so they had to resort to Palestinians, Syrians, Armenians. These are the exact words that Lord Cromer used in regard to that situation: "Syrians and Armenians are the cream of the Near East." Palestinian young men served Great Britain to successfully carry on her work in Egypt, and as a result of 30 years of their service British Government is now willing, and is giving Egypt independence. Why not we be given a fair chance?

Mr. COCKRAN. You speak of the increase in educational institutions in Palestine. Those are mainly supplied from abroad, are they not?

Mr. TOTAH. The higher institutions of learning are, as a rule; but the Turkish régime did maintain a system of their own.

Mr. COCKRAN. What about the economic development before the arrival of the Jews? How far was the land improved? What manufactures, what improvement of economic conditions was done by the native population, aside from the Government?

Mr. TOTAH. I mentioned the fact about figs and olives and oranges, wines produced in the country, and the majority of that is produced by natives.

Mr. COCKRAN. That was developed. I am speaking of the conditions in the last 100 years. You are speaking of the benefits in the last 25 or 30 years.

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. What I want to ask you is can you give us any idea of the extent to which there has been economic development in Palestine?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir; we did.

Mr. COCKRAN. That did not come from the influx of the Jews?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir. I only speak of things right at home. My father lives on a farm and develops that farm, raises his own wheat and tomatoes, grapes, etc.

Mr. COCKRAN. His father before him did.

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. There is no great development in that.

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. Give us an idea of how far they have increased production.

Mr. TOTAH. I can not give you the exact figures. I am not an agriculturist.

Mr. COCKRAN. Were any factories started?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. Among the Palestinians themselves?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir; in Jaffa, one of the most thriving cities which is on the seacoast, they have grapes and the orange industry which is run by the natives.

Mr. COCKRAN. That has always been the case. I mean development in the last 30 years?

Mr. TOTAH. There are the Jaffa oranges. They had to dig wells into the ground and the first thing they used mules to provide for the water supply. The second development that happened was that they began to use engines. They took a step further and you may be interested to know that right now in Jerusalem and Jaffa there is a Ford establishment that sells Ford automobiles and plans to sell tractors and other agricultural implements to the Palestinians.

Mr. COCKRAN. I am asking about the internal development among the Palestinians themselves, not things brought in from the outside. He had spoken of the great improvements in the last 30 years. How much of it was economic?

Mr. FISH. You might also ask who brought in these things.

Mr. COCKRAN. I ask if that was independent of the Jews?

Doctor SHATABA. Imported from Egypt and Europe.

Mr. COCKRAN. Have you got an Armenian agricultural establishment there? Have you got an Armenian concern that sells agricultural machinery?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes; we have natives dealing in implements.

Mr. COCKRAN. In the last five or six years?

Mr. TOTAH. In the last 10 years, in Jerusalem.

Mr. COCKRAN. Who runs that?

Mr. TOTAH. A man named Butrus.

Mr. COCKRAN. Can you give us anything else in that direction?

Mr. TOTAH. I met a man in New York who arranged for an agency for the International Harvester Co.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is an outsider that brings it in.

Mr. TOTAH. No; native Palestinians who come to this country to arrange for an agency of the International Harvester Co., and also the National Cash Register Co. and a few of the automobile companies, and Delco lighting plants.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is the extent of the development in the last 20 or 30 years?



Mr. TOTAH. There is a friend of mine in New York City who did go back the last five years, back to my old home town and established a soap factory there.

Mr. COCKRAN. Did you hear of the extent of the development of the Jewish colonies by the Jews?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir.

Mr. COCKRAN. You do not dispute that?

Mr. TOTAH. No, I do not dispute it. But I will say a word. Before the war the natives of Palestine were very much hampered by the Turkish régime. We all admit that. They did not give them a chance to develop. On the other hand the Jews were financed.

Mr. COCKRAN. They did it.

Mr. TOTAH. So did we. I said, we were hampered. But at the same time we did cultivate and improve the soil.

Mr. COCKRAN. To the extent described.

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir. You gentlemen and your forefathers have fought for the idea, and that is taxation with representation. We are asking for the same principles. By the operation of the Balfour declaration a majority of Jews will be established in Palestine, and after a while by their majority they will govern the native people. Would you stand for things like that in California if the Japanese should come in and after 20 or 30 years become a majority and establish a republic of their own? Not for a moment. How would you expect 93 per cent of the people in Palestine to stand for that? You fought for it. What we are trying to do right now is to plead that they be given a chance. That is what we are asking for.

Mr. KENNEDY. They want to get a home. You do not want to let them. Is not that the idea?

Mr. LIPSKY. That is it.

Mr. TOTAH. The Jews think it is their home when they have only been there for 350 years. How can they call it that when they have only been there 350 years?

Mr. COCKRAN. Then you exclude from Palestine the land of Canaan?

Mr. TOTAH. That is a part of Palestine.

Mr. FISH. I am very much interested in the statement made by the professor and this gentleman or yourself, that the Jews were only in Palestine 350 years.

Mr. REED. Not by me.

Mr. FISH. This witness has. I do not profess to know as much about the Bible as some other gentlemen, but certainly the Jews were in Palestine for a thousand years.

Mr. TOTAH. Some time ago during the Upper Silesia controversy, Lloyd-George mentioned 600 years that the Germans were in Upper Silesia was enough of an argument for the Germans to claim Silesia. How long have the present inhabitants of Palestine been there?

Mr. FISH. Fifteen hundred years under alien rule.

Mr. TOTAH. Is that not long enough to establish our claim?

Mr. COCKRAN. How do you fix 1,500 years as the period of the Arabs?

Doctor SHATARA. The word "Palestine" is taken from Philistine. The Philistines always lived near the coast. The Jews for a short time occupied the whole of Palestine, confined to the highlands. The whole of Palestine was under Jewish rule until this took place, which was about 22 B. C., or, roughly, 250 years. They gained their independence under the Maccabees, and that period lasted about a century, making altogether 350 years that the Jews were in Palestine.

Mr. COCKRAN. From the time of David to the capture of Palestine, how long to the captivity of Babylon?

Doctor SHATARA. Two hundred and fifty years, up to the fall of Samaria.

Mr. COCKRAN. The fall of Samaria down to the capture.

Doctor SHATARA. Seven hundred and twenty-two B. C.

Mr. COCKRAN. The captivity lasted how long?

Doctor SHATARA. I am not exact on that.

Mr. COCKRAN. Seventy years.

Doctor SHATARA. Under the Maccabees it lasted 100 years.

Mr. COCKRAN. Where is the authority for the rule of that land between the return of the Jews from Babylon and the period of the Maccabees?

Mr. TOTAH. We can say the present occupants have been there 1,500 years.

Mr. COCKRAN. Where do you claim the present inhabitants came from? How did they get possession?

Mr. TOTAH. They have been in there 1,500 years.

Mr. COCKRAN. Do they date from the time that Palestine was captured by the Mohammedans?

Mr. TOTAH. Before.

Mr. COCKRAN. Where did they come from?

Doctor SHATARA. The people of Palestine are a mixed race, like some of the people in the eastern part of the United States, those that have been on the land. They have been under the Persians, the Greeks, the Christians, the Mohammedans, and all these elements together formed the Palestinians.

Mr. COCKRAN. The Crusaders in 1096. How do you fix the time of 1,500 years? I can understand how you are doing it from the conquest, but how would it be in the seventh century?

Doctor SHATARA. I would date it from the fall of the rule of the Maccabees.

Mr. COCKRAN. That was before Christ.

Doctor SHATARA. Yes.

Mr. COCKRAN. Two thousand years ago. Where do you fix the 1,500 years?

Mr. SHATARA. The professor is a professor of history. Maybe he can tell us.

Mr. COCKRAN. Is there any reason to fix it at 1,500 years?

Mr. TOTAH. I am just making it 1,500 years, as Mr. Fish stated, as a matter of argument. Our claim is more than 1,500 years.

Mr. COCKRAN. As a figure of speech.

Mr. TOTAH. The gentleman preceding said 1,500 years and I took it at that for argument.

Mr. COCKRAN. I will have it out with him privately.

Mr. TOTAH. Lloyd-George is willing to say that 600 years is enough to establish a prior right in Upper Silesia. How would that argument relate to at least 1,500 years in Palestine? It is a matter of fact that 93 per cent of the people of Palestine are non-Jews and before the war the Jews lived there in a peaceful way with the inhabitants. Mr. Goldberg can not show me a serious instance of a massacre in Palestine. There may be a pogrom in Russia and elsewhere, but never in Palestine. The Jews and non-Jews before the war lived in peace and tranquillity.

Mr. COCKRAN. You do not dispute—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). He says before the war.

Mr. COCKRAN. You do not dispute his testimony?

Mr. TOTAH. No, sir; and on investigation it was shown to have been instigated by the Jews themselves, by the Zionists.

Mr. COCKRAN. The Arabs were under the impression that some Arabs were detained as prisoners in Phedara and made an assault on the Jews generally, who defended their property, and then the riots occurred.

Mr. TOTAH. The fact, however, remains that 93 per cent of the people of Palestine are non-Jews.

Mr. FISH. Drawing a parallel between Egypt and Palestine, that does not hold, because Palestine is enemy territory. It was part of the Turkish Empire at war with the Allies.

Mr. COCKRAN. He is speaking of the equities of the situation.

Mr. TOTAH. The fact is that 93 per cent are non-Jews.

Mr. COCKRAN. That is what you are basing your argument on?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes, sir. During the Wilson administration and according to the League of Nations they wished to consult the wishes and desires of the people before they did anything with Palestine. The Crane-King commission went to Palestine to learn the conditions and find out what the desires and wishes of the people of Palestine were. For some reason or other the Crane commission report was never published. If you gentlemen would like to know exactly what the wishes of the people of Palestine are, the Crane-King commission report may be had. I think that report is in the State Department right now. We suggest, but we do not demand, that this report be produced. We are not demanding anything here. We are only suggesting.

The CHAIRMAN. The Crane report?

Mr. TOTAH. Yes. You can not get a better impartial report than that. Mr. Crane was once appointed minister to China.

Mr. King is president of Oberlin University, and both these gentlemen can tell exactly what the people of Palestine want.

Mr. KENNEDY. What language predominates over there now?

Mr. TOTAH. The Arabic language predominates. I was going to speak of that as one of the issues in the present controversy. It is beyond human justice to pour down the throats of the natives a language foreign to them,

just as much as Latin and Greek are foreign to you; even more so. The language of Hebrew is spoken by a very small percentage of the people in Palestine. That is shown by the Crane-King commission report. The Crane commission went down there and got an expression from the entire population. That ought not to be neglected. Money was spent for the purpose of sending the commission. It was not for the purpose of putting it in the files of the State Department. Why should it not be published?

Mr. COCKRAN. Let me see if I have your argument correct.

Mr. MOORES. We could call for it.

Mr. REED. I do not think you could get it. I could say some interesting things about it.

Mr. COCKRAN. Your position is that you and the gentleman who preceded you want the present population of Palestine to be at once given control of their own government. They did nothing to win that. It was conquered. That is exceptional.

Doctor SHATARA. I think there is something to it.

Mr. COCKRAN. We assume that they did take part of it.

Mr. TOTAH. According to international law, even if it is a conquered country; and according to the League of Nations the people of Palestine were given a chance to express their wishes. The League of Nations says that the mandatory power shall come there to advise and supervise for the welfare of the natives.

Mr. COCKRAN. The League of Nations does not interest this country, but international law and the League of Nations are not convertible terms. Your point is that the people should be given control of the country and shut the Jews out.

Mr. TOTAH. We do not say that.

Mr. COCKRAN. But that is your point. The other gentleman did. The whole purpose is to control immigration. The object is that you would not let them come in peacefully even if they came in to purchase land. If you had any idea that they would become a majority you would not let them come in.

Mr. REED. This gentleman says so after becoming a majority.

Mr. TOTAH. If they come to establish a majority, the natives have a right to limit immigration as this country has a right to control immigration.

Mr. KENNEDY. But we are an organized government. There is no one over there.

Mr. TOTAH. But that does not cut out the equities of the situation.

Mr. KENNEDY. These Jews are making this land fertile where it was sterile.

Mr. TOTAH. No, sir; I disagree with that in its entirety.

Mr. KENNEDY. The places that are fertile are not sterile now. The lands that those Jews have taken, this report states, have been lands that were sterile when they got them and they have turned them into fertile lands.

Mr. TOTAH. We could do that ourselves.

Mr. KENNEDY. That is another matter. That is a fact that the Jews are doing that. There is no doubt. It is conceded that what you want is to be yourselves given control of this land.

Mr. TOTAH. To develop it.

Mr. COCKRAN. And not allow the Jew to enter in, peacefully or otherwise.

Mr. TOTAH. We do not say that.

Mr. COCKRAN. Peacefully or otherwise, even to buy it, no matter what the result, if they should become a majority.





NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN  
PALESTINE.

MAY 31, 1922.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

Mr. FISH, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the  
following

REPORT.

[To accompany H. J. Res. 322.]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred House Joint Resolution No. 322, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, having considered the same, report favorably thereon, with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.

This report expresses our moral interest in and our favorable attitude toward the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. It commits us to no foreign obligation or entanglement. The protection of the holy places is carefully provided for, as well as the rights of Christian and all non-Jewish communities. There is a strong religious and humanitarian appeal in this recognition accorded to the Jewish people that goes beyond its purely material aspects and the discharge of such obligations assumed by the allied governments as expressed in the Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917, which has been indorsed by France, Italy, Japan, and other nations.

The Jews of America are profoundly interested in establishing a national home in the ancient land for their race. Indeed, this is the ideal of the Jewish people everywhere, for, despite their dispersion, Palestine has been the object of their veneration since they were expelled by the Romans. For generations they have prayed for the return to Zion. During the past century this prayer has assumed practical form.

Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jew, is to-day a comparatively sterile country, due to the wanton and deplorable policy of desolation systematically carried out by its rulers, the Turks, for many centuries. What was once the country of milk and honey has

become, through misrule and oppression, a devastated and sparsely settled land.

Jewish colonization began in Palestine over 40 years ago. In 1897 Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, established an organization for the purpose of securing legal recognition of the Jewish right in Palestine and began the practical work of settling the land. A great deal of labor and effort has been put into Palestine by Jews. They have established 72 flourishing colonies on a soil which, before they reclaimed it, was merely sand, stone, and swamp. With the investment of Jewish capital and labor part of this land has been transformed into beautiful gardens that evoke the admiration of visitors to the Holy Land. They have created and maintain a modern school system, and laid the foundations of a national Jewish university in Jerusalem. They have introduced modern sanitation, opened hospitals and clinics, and founded many industries. Banks have been established to provide credit for the smaller trade and business man. They are now prepared to develop a plan for harnessing the water power of the Jordan River, which will provide Palestine with ample electric light and power for a large industrial development.

In this work of regenerating a land that has become desolate and waste through governmental oppression, the Jews of America have participated to a large and generous extent, maintaining the American Zionese Medical Unit and making large contributions to the purchase of land and for the creation of credit institutions.

We of America should be glad to give our moral support to a project which is based upon justice and humanity. To give this recognition to so laudable an endeavor of a people seeking to create a haven of refuge for the oppressed and homeless of their race is to act in consonance with the loftiest American ideals. The Jews have suffered greatly during the war. There are now countless thousands of innocent members of the Jewish race in Poland, Galicia, Russia, Hungary, Ukraine, and Rumania who have been utterly ruined and for whom there is no place in the lands where they had formerly lived. The World War has overwhelmed them. They are seeking a home where, with the generous help of their brethren of other lands who are in more comfortable circumstances, they may re-create their own forms of life and realize their ideals.

The hope of a return of the Jewish people to Zion has had the good wishes of our foremost American statesmen. President Woodrow Wilson, in a letter dated August 31, 1918, wrote as follows:

I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionese movement in the United States and in the allied countries since the declaration of Mr. Balfour, on behalf of the British Government, of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries.

President Harding on June 1, 1921, expressed his friendly interest in and for the Zionist movement, and said:

It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Hebrew people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic

national home and there enter on a new and yet greater phase of their contribution to the advance of humanity.

Again, on May 11, 1922, President Harding wrote to a Zionist committee:

I am very glad to express my approval and hearty sympathy for the effort of the Palestine Foundation Fund in behalf of the restoration of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people. I have always viewed with an interest, which I think is quite as much practical as sentimental, the proposal for the rehabilitation of Palestine, and I hope the effort now being carried on in this and other countries in this behalf may meet with the fullest measure of success.

Leaders of the Jewish people here and abroad, who have studied Jewish conditions and needs and are thoroughly familiar with the problems of Jewish life, anticipate the eventual creation of an enlightened state which shall be a center of Jewish culture, a blessing to humanity and to the Jewish race in that ancient land which was given by Jehovah to Abraham, and which is consecrated in all Jewish hearts as the birthplace of their traditions and ideals. The realization of this hope should be given the moral encouragement of the American people speaking through their Representatives in Congress.





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